SOME ROMAN MONUMENTS

IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

By

CARA BERKELEY

VOL. II

Price 18s. net

2 VOLS.

LONDON
SHEED & WARD
31 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.4

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VOLUME TWO

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CARA BERKELEY

"The Stones of Rome have a voice and speak"

SHEED & WARD
31 Paternoster Row
London, E.C.
1927

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Some Roman Monuments in the Light of History

VOL. II

PART II (CONTINUED)

CHAPTER IX

THE BASILICA OF S. PETER

It is impossible to discuss here in detail the vexed questions: Was the Prince of the Apostles ever in Rome? Did he found the Church there? Was he martyred and buried there? Does the Confession in S. Peter's still hold his body?

I think that if one studies the evidence without prejudice the conviction grows ever stronger that Peter came to Rome; that he found the Church there already constituted and widely known for its faith;[1] that he was martyred and buried there, but that it is more doubtful if his body is still in the basilica. The early accounts of his life and death became so mixed with fable that at last a certain school rejected all testimony concerning his visit and held that his life had been passed entirely outside Italy.

But the tradition of his death in Rome is so old, so universal and so undisputed by counter traditions, that it seems impossible fairly to set it aside; and though there is no contemporary evidence, very early writers have spoken of him in a way that strongly supports the tradition.

S. Clement, writing, probably, between A.D. 90-100 says: "But, to cease from the examples of old times, let us come to those who contended in the days nearest to us; let us take the noble example of our own generation. Through jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted and contended unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles: Peter, who because of unrighteous jealousy suffered not one or two but many trials, and having

[1] S. Paul, writing to the Romans in 58, says: "Your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world," I, 8.

thus given his testimony, went to the glorious place which was his due. Through jealousy and strife Paul showed the way to the prize of endurance ; seven times he was in bonds, he was exiled, he was stoned, he was a herald both in the East and the West, he gained the noble fame of his faith, he taught righteousness to all the world, and when he had reached the limits of the West, he suffered martyrdom under the prefects, and thus passed from the world, and was taken up into the Holy Place—the great example of endurance. To these men with their holy lives was gathered a great multitude of the chosen, who were the victims of jealousy and offered among us the fairest example in their endurance under many indignities and tortures."[1]

It will be noted that Clement, in speaking of the multitude gathered round the apostles, says " offered an example *among* us," as if both the apostles and their followers had suffered in Rome.

Irenaeus, who was probably born between 120-140, speaks of the Roman Church as founded by the apostles, but he attributes this to Paul equally with Peter, and there can be no question as to Paul having any part in starting the Church in Rome, for, as we know, he had already written to the Christians in that city before visiting it. Irenaeus says that Matthew wrote his gospel " while Peter and Paul were at Rome, preaching and laying the foundation of the Church " ; and again, " there is one very great and most ancient [Church] known to all, the Church founded and established at Rome by two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, whose tradition which it hath from the apostles, and her faith proclaimed unto men by a succession of bishops coming down even unto us. . ."[2]

Tertullian, probably born about 160, wrote of the " happy Church of Rome to whom the apostles relegated their teaching and their blood, when Peter suffered a passion like our Saviour, and Paul obtained a crown like that of John the Baptist."[3] He was the first to mention Peter's death by crucifixion, but speaks of it as if it were a known fact ; he also speaks of the unbroken line of bishops from Clement, " who was placed there by S. Peter."[4]

Origen, probably born about 185, stated that Paul was be-

[1] Clement's I *Ep. Cor.* v, vi. Irenaeus says of Clement that he had seen and conferred with the apostles. *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3.

[2] Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* III, i, 1 ; III, iii, 2. He himself had his traditions straight from the fountain-head, for he relates that when young he saw Polycarp, who " had conversed with many of those who had seen Christ." *Ibid* 4. Possibly in the above passage he means that the Roman Church took its doctrines and traditions from Peter and Paul.

[3] *De Praescript. Haer.* xxxvi.

[4] *Ibid* xxxii.

headed under Nero, and was the first to say that Peter was crucified with his head downwards.[1]

Caius, who was living at the beginning of the third century, spoke of the trophies of the apostles at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way,[2] and is generally considered to be talking of their tombs. Guignebert, however, points out that a trophy means a sign of victory and would be placed where they died, not where they were buried.

S. Cyprian, Eusebius, Jerome and others speak of Peter's visit to Rome.

It seems almost certain, then, that Peter as well as Paul visited the capital. I cannot enter here into the complicated question of dates—varying from 41 to 64—of his arrival, or whether he paid two visits to the capital or only one. It seems most probable that he only came once and that he was killed in the reign of Nero, whose persecution lasted from 64 to 68, the great outbreak being of course in 64, when unspeakable horrors took place in the circus, begun by Caligula and finished by Nero; this was in the Vatican gardens belonging to the Emperor, and was the first scene of the suffering of "the persons commonly called Christians," says Tacitus, "who were hated for their enormities."[3] (See above, Catacombs Part I. Persecutions.) A very early tradition says that Peter was martyred "inter duas metas," i.e., between the two goals, which stood at each end of the spina of middle line of the circus; in the centre of this line stood the obelisk of the Piazza San Pietro, the spot being now marked by a stone with an inscription on it.[4] In this circus the victims of Nero suffered, and close to this spot S. Peter was almost certainly buried. Unless he was confounded with them there seems no reason whatever why he should have been buried in Nero's garden, nor any reason why, unless he died during a wholesale murder such as this, he should have been executed in the circus.[5] On the other hand, Jerome[6] says Seneca died two years before the apostles, and Seneca died in 65; Clement[7] says they suffered

[1] Quoted by Eus. *Ch. Hist.* III, i, 2.
[2] *Ibid* II, xxv, 7.
[3] Tac. *Ann.* XV, 44.
[4] It is in the courtyard near the canons' sacristy. When in the Middle Ages it was desired to build a Church on the spot the two metae were thought to be two tombs which went by the names of Meta Remi and Meta Romuli, and S. Pietro in Montorio was erected at an equal distance between the two.
[5] Paul being a Roman citizen was "no doubt executed separately, if, indeed, he suffered at this time."
[6] *Lives Ill. Men*, XII.
[7] I *Ep. Cor.* V.

under the Praefects, and in 67 Nero went to Greece leaving the supreme power in the hands of urban and praetorian praefects; and the Liber Pontificalis[1] says they received the crown of martyrdom thirty-eight years after Our Lord's Passion, and the author is "here following the Paschal Tables of the fifth century, according to which the date of Christ's death was 29."

The same day, June 29th, is kept as the festival of both the apostles, but the Church has never stated that they died in the same year.

Peter seems to have been buried close to the place of his martyrdom, and Paul on the Via Ostiensis, where the great basilica now stands. The bodies were probably removed to the cemetery Ad Catacumbas (see S. Sebastiano) during the persecution of Valerian (253-60); there is evidence of this in a considerable number of early documents. The Liber Pontificalis says that they were taken *from* the catacombs by a matron called Lucina and put back in their original graves during the pontificate of Cornelius (251-52), but the author seems to have made a mistake here and should have put, taken from the original graves and put in the Catacombs. The very early calendar called Bucherianum in an entry dated June 29th, 258, says that the bodies were transferred *to* the Catacombs during the consulship of Tuscus and Bassus;[2] whether they were taken again to the Vatican and the Via Ostiensis before the peace of the Church or at that time is a matter of dispute.

If the body of Peter was ever really restored to its original resting-place (and this has been questioned) it is probably still there; Constantine, when he built his basilica over it, placed upon the grave a cross of pure gold with the words "Constantine Augustus and Helena Augusta" on it. In 1594, when alterations were being made, the floor gave way, and through an opening the tomb was seen. A manuscript deposition of the archæologist Francesco Maria Torrigio states that Clement VIII and others looked through and saw the cross—crux aurea sepulchro imposita—but the "narrative is brought to a sudden close by the Pope ordering *foramen se coram coementis oppleri*" (the hole to be blocked up in his presence with stones). Had the grave been rifled since the days of Constantine, the cross would certainly have disappeared.

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Peter.

[2] It has been suggested that one of the consuls for 64 was called Bassus, and that possibly the copyist may have mixed the two men, and given the second consul for 258 instead of the colleague of Bassus for 64; this would point to an early translation of the bodies, directly after the apostles' death; but there seems to be no evidence of this.

Over the grave of S. Peter, Pope Anacletus erected a " sepulchral monument,"[1] probably a small oratory, the first basilica here being founded by Constantine the Great during the pontificate of Sylvester; the level corresponded to the present crypts; this also was destroyed during the Renaissance.

Nicholas V desired to repair and secure the ancient sanctuary, but it was only the choir that he, at first, proposed actually to rebuild; but Leo Battista Alberti placed evidence before him which decided him to rebuild the whole basilica. For this he has been very severely judged, but it must be borne in mind that Alberti stated that the southern wall leaned outward to such a degree that " I am convinced that very soon some slight shock or movement will cause it to fall. The rafters of the roof have dragged the north wall inwards to a corresponding degree."[2]

The account books of Nicholas show that he repaired the floor, renewed the mosaics, etc., but before any steps could be taken to put his great plan into execution he died, and it was left to Julius II to do the work in the sixteenth century.

The condition of the old building was now doubtless worse than it had been in the time of Nicholas; in a letter to the king of England, Julius distinctly asserts that the old church was in a ruinous condition, and this statement is repeated in a whole series of other briefs."

Nevertheless, nearly all the sacred college seem to have been opposed to the idea of destroying the old basilica, and the opposition continued after Julius' death. But whether or no it was necessary to pull down the building, there was absolutely no excuse for the wholesale destruction of tombs, columns, monuments, etc.,[3] and for this terrible vandalism Bramante was largely responsible. Paris de Grassis says he was known as the " destroyer," and it is asserted that he wished even to remove S. Peter's tomb; but the Pope, in whose mind, in all his undertakings, " religious interests, and not his own glory, held first place," absolutely refused his consent;—under no pretext whatever should that be touched.

The foundation stone of the new basilica was laid by Julius on April 18th, 1506. We have an account from Burchard,[4] who was master of ceremonies to Innocent VIII and Alexander VI and whose diary ends on April 27th, 1506. He relates that

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Anacletus.

[2] Quoted by Pastor.

[3] The broken remnants of many tombs, monuments, altars, etc., are crowded into the crypt.

[4] Diary III, 422-23. There is also an account by Paris de Grassis, who held the same office under Julius II. Pastor says that in some details the accounts differ from each other.

" on Saturday in Easter week, the 18th of April, the Cardinal of Volterra celebrated Mass in public at the altar of the Basilica of S. Peter, the Pope being present and also thirty-three cardinals ; to wit, all except him of Bologna. This being finished, the Pope gave the Benediction but no indulgences. Then, in the same order in which he had come from his rooms, the Pope was carried forth in his chair preceded by the Cross, by cardinals . . . . by prelates . . . . and by others in the usual manner, through the little door in the chapel to the foundation of the new choir which had been erected there, in order to lay the first stone. This was of marble in the form of a tablet three palms long, or thereabouts, and of the thickness of three fingers, and having written words on it ; to wit : ' Julius II Pont. Max. repaired this Basilica, which was almost falling in ruins, A.D. 1506. In the third year of his pontificate.' Then, turning to the Pope, I blessed the water, thereupon the Pope himself blessed the stone according to the Book, and sprinkled only one side of it, not both. When the stone had been laid, the masons placed in a covered vase two medals of gold of the value of forty ducats, and six or more of metal, with the face of the Pope in his robes on one side, and on the other the design according as it was proposed.

"Finally, the Pope standing on the foundation, gave the solemn Benediction and indulgences, which was published by Cardinal Colonna in good Latin. The Pope went back and bowed towards the first stone, having before him his cross, with two candelabra and candles on either side ; then he returned to the palace."

S. Peter's has had many architects, and the building was not completed for over a century ; and the barbarous destruction of the old one and its priceless monuments went on till the days of Paul V (1605-21). Besides this, of all the enormous mass of marbles used, hardly an atom " comes from modern quarries ; they were all," says Lanciani, " removed from classic buildings, many of which were levelled to the ground for the sake of one or two pieces only."

The first thing that strikes one on entering S. Peter's is that it is very much smaller than one expected.[1] Fergusson says truly that it is a great mistake to suppose that largeness of parts adds to the greatness of the whole ; " the great nave is divided into only four bays, and the proportions and ornament of these are so gigantic that it is difficult to realize the true dimensions of the church." Geymüller speaks of the " ultra-profanity " of the windows and truly they would not be out of

[1] The area is 227,000 square feet, that of Milan 108,277 square feet. It s almost impossible to believe it.

place in a factory or railway station. It has been said that "throughout the interior there is scarcely an ornament that is not offensive. Perhaps sculpture never reached so profound a bathos as in the hideous cherubs which are stuck, like petrified acrobats, against all the piers."

There is nothing church-like about this church, and it is only its associations that give it its unique interest. If it were newly built in a modern city, I doubt if anyone could be found to admire it.

On entering the church one naturally goes first to the—

CONFESSION

The metal gates are opened and a little alcove appears, decorated with mosaics, and holding a casket in which are placed the palliums made from the wool of the lambs blessed in the basilica of S. Agnese on her festival. Beneath this—but not to be seen—is the tomb. Above the door of the recess is a grating of gilded bronze of Innocent III, with the inscription beginning SIC CUM DISCIPULIS BIS SEX CHRISTUS RESIDEBIT CUM REDDET CUNCTIS POPULIS QUOD QUISQUE MEREBIT (When Christ shall thus sit with his twelve disciples, rendering to each and all whatsoever they have earned.) Monsignor Barnes points out that the grating is so much longer than the alcove is wide, that it looks as if it were unconnected with this and had been put there to protect something; and that he has never found any authority, mediaeval or modern, except a small French guide-book which suggests what this something was, i.e., the offering of Valentinian III. In the time of Sixtus III (432-40) the Emperor "offered a golden relief with twelve doors and the twelve apostles and the Saviour, adorned with jewels of great price, the which as a votive gift he set up over the confession of blessed Peter, the apostle."[1] With an electric torch one can see behind the grating a board with some pieces of metal (one arch and two columns) with traces of blue enamel. It seems as if this might really be the battered remains of Valentinian's gift, as the grating could only have been put there to protect something precious. A half-circular bit has been cut out of the grating, obviously when the present alcove was made, or at any rate altered, for it (the alcove) has a curious shape, as if one side of it had been enlarged, and the roof takes a different curve in each half of it.

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Sixtus III. Duchesne thinks that this probably represented Christ and the apostles sitting beneath the arcades of a portico like the sarcophagi of the fourth and fifth centuries. He thinks it was destroyed by the Saracens. Adrian I mentions this gift in a letter to Charlemagne quoted by Duchesne.

Steps lead from the space in front of the tomb into the basilica, a circle of lights burns round it night and day, and in the niches of the gigantic piers which support the dome may be seen eight of the spiral columns which Constantine the Great brought from Greece and set near the coffin.[1]

S. PETER'S STATUE

Not far from the Confession stands the celebrated bronze statue, called of S. Peter, which is of ancient but unknown origin, and has been the subject of much controversy. The following opinions concerning it may be quoted.

Gregorovius says that the statue, which at one time stood in the monastery of S. Martin, is spoken of by Gregory II as the object of his fellow-citizens' jealous love. It was a cause of offence to the iconoclasts, but was " regarded by the Christians of Rome as the Palladium of their city." " Whether the assertion that it had been formed out of the molten image of the Capitoline Jupiter be tenable,[2] or whether it be more probable that the figure is that of some consul or early emperor, it is at least certain that the style is not Byzantine, but as ancient and pure as that of the best sculptures on the best Christian sarcophagi, or that of the marble statue of S. Hippolytus, at present standing in the Lateran museum."

In Lanciani's opinion the figure was " cast as a portrait of S. Peter ; the head belongs to the body, the keys and the uplifted fingers of the right hand are essential and genuine details of the original composition. The difficulty, and it is a great one, consists in stating its age." He admits the great similarity between this statue and that of Hippolytus, cast in the third century, but adds that portrait statues in bronze may belong to any age, because the caster can take a mould from any good original, alter the features slightly and then cast it in bronze. " This seems to be the case with this celebrated image. I know that the current opinion makes it contemporary with the erection of Constantine's basilica ; but to this I cannot subscribe, on account of the comparatively modern shape of the keys." " If the keys have been added the figure may be a fourth century one, but if they were cast with the statue, it is of comparatively recent date." Doubts on the subject might be dispersed by careful examination, which he has not been able to undertake.[3]

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Sylvester.

[2] A legend states that after Leo I's successful embassy to Attila he had the Jupiter recast as Peter, as a thanksgiving.

[3] It is difficult to follow his reasoning ; he says that it may have been copied with slight alterations from a good (therefore presumably an early)

Grisar does not think that either the head, hands or keys belonged to the original cast ; " they betray a later influence ; at least, their style is different." He considers it a " production of Christian art at the decline of the classical period. In it the fifth and sixth century seems to have left a trace of its spirit and taste and of its technical methods. The statue was most likely cast in one of the many ancient moulds then existing, or possibly a statue of some philosopher was purloined to make a new mould . . . . To this mould a new head was given with the traditional features of S. Peter. At the same time the right hand stiffly raised in blessing and the left hand with the keys were also added. Finally, the statue was cast in the made-up mould." Grisar says there is " no justification in the contention that the form of the keys shows the statue in question to be of later date." Keys of a shape with which we are familiar to-day are to be seen in a mosaic in S. Agatha of the fifth century and are to be found in the Christian museum of the Vatican. He adds that " Marucchi is for the fifth century, and Petersen has recently been able to show by a comparison with other bronzes that the work belongs to the end of the classic age."

Let us now return to the entrance and make a round of the basilica.

THE CAPPELLA DELLA PIETA

is the first on the right, and is so-called from the Pietà of Michaelangelo, which stands above the altar. Here also is the column called the Colonna Santa, and said to have been brought from the temple at Jerusalem. It is in reality one of those placed at the apostle's grave by Constantine (see above).

Further on is the tomb of Sixtus IV[1] at whose feet—unmarked by any monument—was laid his nephew, Julius II, one of the most impressive figures in all the papal list. His greatest admirers will admit that he was more suited for a temporal than for a spiritual sovereign, but his worst enemies cannot in fairness deny that he had a great and magnanimous soul; his ambition was for the Church not for his family nor himself.[2] He was never cruel and never avenged a personal injury. Guicciardini, a contemporary, says of him : " He was a Prince of inestimable Courage and Constancy, but impetuous, and boundless in his Conceptions, which would have carried him headlong to his own Ruine, had he not been

model before decadence set in, and yet that the keys, which are " an *essential* feature of the *original* composition," are more or less modern.

[1] Now removed to the new museum.

[2] Macchiavelli bears witness to this : " Fece ogni cosa per accrescere la chiesa e non alcun privato." *Principe* IX.

restrained more by the Reverence of the Church, the Discord of Princes, and the Condition of the Times, than by his own Moderation or Prudence. He would certainly have been worthy of the highest Honour had he been a secular Prince, or employed the same Ardor and Vigilance with which he prosecuted the Advancement of the Church in temporal Greatness by the Force of Arms, in promoting her Progress towards Purity and spiritual Perfection by the milder Arts of Peace. His Memory, however, is most dear and honoured above that of all his Predecessors, especially by those who having lost the true Names of Things, and confounding the Distinction that arises from weighing them in a just Balance, think it more the Duty of Pontiffs to increase the Empire of the Apostolic See by Arms and the Blood of Christians, than to strive and labour, by the Example of a good Life, and by correcting and healing a Degeneracy and Corruption of Manners, to promote the Salvation of those Souls for whose Benefit they boast that Christ has constituted them His Vicars upon Earth."[1]

THE TRIBUNE

Here, hidden in Bernini's monstrosity of a chair, supported by four Fathers of the Church,[2] is the so-called throne of S. Peter. Bryce says that this "sedia" can be traced back to the third or fourth century and was probably the "curule chair of some forgotten magistrate." De Rossi held that it was not of the right form for this, and thought it "Byzantine work of about the sixth century"; but adds that some fragments of ivory belong to an earlier chair, that they are in classic style and represent the labours of Hercules; Lanciani thinks these fragments may possibly date from apostolic times. Whether the seat was used by early popes or not, it was from it that Leo III arose on Christmas Day, 800, and stepped forward to perform the "most memorable coronation in history"—that of Charlemagne.[3] The Liber Pontificalis gives the fullest account of it.[4]

"When came the day of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, they were all gathered together again in the aforesaid basilica of the blessed Apostle Peter. And then the venerable and

[1] Guic. *Hist. Flor.* XI, 4.

[2] These figures are most deceptive as to size; they do not strike one as particularly big, but I happened to see a man cleaning them one day with a brush; he was standing on a ladder with his feet on a level with the chin of one of the statues and his head came just to the top of the mitre.

[3] This coronation, says Bryce, is described in all the annals of the times.

[4] *Lib. Pont.* Leo III. 23.

gracious Pontiff with his own hands crowned him with a precious crown. Then all the faithful Romans, seeing what love and protection he had towards the Holy Roman Church and its Vicar, with a loud voice and all together by the Will of God and of Peter the keybearer of the heavenly Kingdom, exclaimed, 'Life and victory to Charles the most pious Augustus, crowned by God great and peaceful Emperor.'" "In that shout echoed by the Franks without, was pronounced the union so long in preparation, so mighty in its consequences, of the Roman and the Teuton, of the memories and the civilisation of the south, with the fresh energy of the north, and from that moment modern history begins."

Close to the throne is the tomb of Paul III, the Farnese pope, with a very fine figure done by Guglielmo della Porta. Vasari, a contemporary, gives an interesting account of the casting of the figure.[1] "While Guglielmo was restoring the antiquities of the Casa Farnese . . . . it chanced that Fra Bastiano, who held the office of the leaden seal, departed this life, when Guglielmo contrived in such sort, by means of Michelagnolo and others, that he obtained the office in question, with the commission for erecting the Sepulchre of Pope Paul III, which was to be placed in San Pietro . . . . The seated statue of the Pontiff, in the act of giving the benediction . . . . is in bronze. Fearing that the mass of metal might get cold and so endanger the success of his casting, Guglielmo kept it in the lower furnace, and caused it to be brought gradually into the mould above; this unusual mode of proceeding turned out so well, that the work came forth clean and equal, as wax, so that the very surface was suffered to remain as it came from the fire, having no need for polishing. This figure may now be seen under the first arches of the Tribune in the new San Pietro."

ALTARE DI S. LEONE MAGNO

Going on to the top of the left aisle we find the tomb where is said to rest the body of Leo I the Great.[2] In his day the Empire was in a terribly decadent state, and "neither in Church nor State was there any other at all of Leo's calibre." Milman says of him that at that moment he was "the only great name in the Empire, it might almost seem in the Christian world." His influence was very great, and though he is said to have used

[1] Vas. *Lives of the Painters*, V, 436.

[2] His remains have been moved more than once, first by Sergius I (687-701) again in 1607 and lastly in 1715. I have read somewhere, but cannot remember on what authority, that Leo I's body was handed over (when moved from the portico of the old basilica of S. Peter's) to some monks and was never heard of again.

it partly for good, partly for bad, he at any rate did his utmost to save his country from the barbarians; and in 452, "for the sake of the Roman name, he undertook an embassy and went to meet the King of the Huns, Attila by name, and delivered all Italy from the peril of the enemy."[1] Prosper of Aquitaine, in his Chronicle written in Rome during the lifetime of Leo, gives an account of the meeting, but I have personally not read this.

It has often been said that Attila was very unlikely to give up his object simply at the solicitation of the pope, and that probably enemies were invading his own land. Hodgkin does not agree with this; he thinks that after examining the best authorities we may believe that his ministers counselled wisdom, that the awe of Rome, the venerated position of Leo, and his commanding personality strongly impressed the Hun, and that he would have had the fate of Alaric and his sudden death after conquering the city constantly in his mind.

At any rate he turned back and the capital was saved. In 455 Leo again played the part of an intercessor, this time with Gaiseric (Genseric) King of the Vandals; he failed to save Rome, but obtained terms which alleviated the horrors of the sack.

Leo's sarcophagus has on it the words CORPUS S. LEONIS I. PONT. ET CONFES. COGNOMENTO MAGNI ET ECCLESIAE DOCTORIS.[2] (The body of Leo the First, Pope and Confessor, called the Great, Doctor of the Church.)

Over the altar is a bas-relief by Algardi of the Pope and Attila, with SS. Peter and Paul hovering in the air with drawn swords, as described in a legend. The next altar, in the—

CAPPELLA DELLA COLONNA

has a column with a much venerated picture of Our Lady from the old basilica. Under the altar is a very fine old sarcophagus with the bodies of Leo II, Leo III and Leo IV. At the end of the transept is the—

CAPPELLA DI SS. SIMONE E JUDE,

which some authorities say probably marks the site of the crucifixion of S. Peter; this contradicts the theory that he was martyred at the foot of the obelisk between the two metae, as the plans of the church and of the circus show that this chapel is nearly at the extremity of the spina.

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Leo. I.

[2] The title of Doctor of the Church was conferred on him by Benedict XIV in 1754. The inscription therefore is quite modern.

CAPPELLA CLEMENTINA

Going into the left aisle, we come to the altar of Gregory the Great (see church of S. Gregorio), whose remains have been moved several times. He was first buried in the atrium of old S. Peter's, then brought inside the church by Gregory IV (827-44), again moved by Pius II and lastly by Paul V (1605-21). On December 8th, 1605, the porphyry urn was opened and the body transferred to a cypress case; on January 8th he was placed in the Cappella Clementina; there is, I believe, an inscription on the cypress coffin, and there is another on the marble lid just under the edge of the altar; on the front of the sarcophagus are the words, "Corpus S. Gregorii Magni."

THE NAVE

Returning to the main door, we see a large porphyry disk, which is said to have been that on which all the emperors knelt to be crowned, but the genuine one appears to be buried deep beneath the pavement.

The great bronze doors were made by Antonio Averulino, called Filarete, and were made for the old basilica by order of Eugenius IV (1431-47) to commemmorate the Council of Florence, held in 1434, in the hope of reconciling the Greek and Latin Churches.

On the inside of the door on the right side close to the floor is a relief representing Filarete and his workmen starting off for a picnic; a donkey carries one man with a jug in his hand; the men are dancing in a most un-church-like manner, and there is also a camel! The outside of the doors is even more unsuited for a sacred building, as Leda and her swan, Ganymede and his eagle, etc., are portrayed in company with Christ, the Madonna, and Saints. In one panel Eugenius is represented with the Greek emperor, John VII Palaeologus,[1] another shows the latter's arrival in Florence.

THE VESTIBULE

In the vestibule we may note the bull of Boniface VIII, granting Indulgences at the first Jubilee in 1300.[2] Here also is a supremely interesting monument,[3] the epitaph of Adrian I, written, or at any rate, conceived, by Charlemagne.[4] I give some of the lines:

[1] There is a very fine bronze bust of John Palaeologus in the Vatican (long gallery leading to the Museo Sacro) said to be by Filarete.

[2] This is on the left of the first door counting from the right.

[3] On the left of the fourth door from the right.

[4] It was put into form by Alcuin.

" The father of the Church, the ornament of Rome, the famous writer Adrian, the blessed Pope rests in peace :
God was his life, love was his law, Christ was his glory . . .
Death could not injure him, for its sting was taken away by the death of Christ :
It opened for him the gate of the better life.
I, Charles, have written these lines while weeping for my father.[1]
Oh, my father, my beloved one, how lasting is my grief for thee.
Dost thou think upon me as I follow thee constantly in spirit ? . . . .
Oh, most illustrious, I unite our two names and titles,
Adrian and Charles, the king and the father . . . .
Yes, I know that thou wilt hear the voice of the merciful judge.
Bid thee to enter the paradise of thy Saviour.
Then, oh great father, think upon thy son,
And ask, that with the father, the son may enter into joy."

PIAZZA SAN PIETRO

In the great piazza is the obelisk which was made by Nectanebo in the fourth century B.C. He left it without any carving, and Ptolemy Philadelphus (284-246 B.C.) erected it in Alexandria, giving Satyrus the architect the charge of moving it. This ingenious person dug a canal to and under it as it lay on the ground and moved two heavily weighted barges under it ; he then took out the weights and as the barges floated higher they lifted the obelisk off the ground. Caligula brought it to Rome to adorn his circus (which was finished by Nero) and had it inscribed. It remained in this spot till 1586, when Sixtus V removed it to its present situation. At the foot of this obelisk S. Peter was probably martyred.

[1] " Post patrem lachrimans Carolus haec carmina scripsi." See Historical Sketch.

CHAPTER IX

THE LATERAN

STANDING in front of the north transept of S. Giovanni in Laterano is a great obelisk. This was commenced by order of Thothmes (Thurmose) III, the greatest of the Egyptian conquerors, the beginning and end of whose reign are astronomically fixed—May 3rd, 1501 B.C. to March 17th, 1447 B.C. For thirty-five years it lay unfinished at the southern portal of the temple enclosure at Karnak. Thothmes IV, the grandson, who died in 1411, had it "engraved with the old conqueror's name, recorded on it also his own pious deed in continuing the work and erected the colossal shaft" where he found it lying.

This obelisk is the oldest monument in Rome; it was (roughly) 1000 years old when Lars Porsenna of Clusium encamped on the Janiculum; 2000 years old when Theodoric the Great came and knelt at the tomb of S. Peter; and 3000 years old when the city was sacked by the terrible troops of Charles V. The original

DOMUS LATERANA

was built in the first century A.D. by Plautus Lateranus, who was put to death by Nero for complicity in the conspiracy of Caius Piso against himself. Tacitus says that Lateranus brought into the conspiracy "a spirit of keen animosity," but that he was induced to join it, not like some of the others, "from any personal injury but from affection for the Republic." He adds that Nero put Plautus, consul-elect, to death with "such precipitation, that he would not allow him to embrace his children, nor the usual brief interval to choose his mode of death . . . . At his death he maintained the most invincible silence."[1]

The usual statement made is that Nero now confiscated his palace, that later on it was presented to another Lateranus—a member of a different family—by Septimus Severus, that still later it came into the hands of Fausta (daughter of Maxi-

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xv, 60.

mian and sister of Maxentius) wife of Constantine the Great, and was by him given to the pope.

Commendatore Lanciani does not agree with this ; he says that no classic author speaks of confiscation, but that on the contrary one of them states that T. Sextius Lateranus, consul in 196, was offered large sums of money by Severus with which to restore the paternal estate ; he considers that it became State property only under Severus Alexander (222-35) and " remained so till the time of Constantine, who offered part or perhaps the whole of it to Pope Melchiades in 313 ; this at least is the date of a council of bishops convened in the palace under the presidency of the pope."[1] It was certainly called the Domus Faustae, and continued to be so after the days of Melchiades ; or possibly the name was later applied only to part of the building.

Here the pontiffs lived for a thousand years, and it has been said that this gift formed " the subject of that real and considerable donation which later ages distorted into a quasi-feudal investiture of the imperial city." It was called the Episcopum, or later, the Patriarchum Lateranense, and in course of time included—besides the dwelling-place of the popes—the basilica and baptistery—various churches, chapels, oratories, monasteries and dining-halls.[2]

THE PALACE

Of this nothing remains but the Sancta Sanctorum (see below). Between the years 796 and 797 Leo III enlarged the Triclinium of the palace and decorated the three tribunes with mosaics. An exact copy of these was made from drawings at the Vatican by order of Benedict XIV in 1743 and placed in an open air niche[3] in the same part of the palace. There are three distinct pictures ; in the apse Christ is represented giving their mission to the apostles ; on the left-hand spandrel (when facing the mosaic) He is presenting the keys to Sylvester and the Labarum to Constantine ; beneath the latter were the words IN HOC SIGNO VINCES ET TIBI DABO CLAVES REGNI COELORUM (In this sign thou shalt conquer, and to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven). But these are almost obliterated ; on the right-hand is Peter giving a stole to Leo and a standard to Charlemagne. Both pope and king wear the square nimbus with—surrounding the former—SCISSIMUS D.N.LEO OP. (Our lord the most holy Leo) ; and

[1] Against the Donatists.

[2] There was here also one of the barracks of the Equites singulares, remains of them having been found under the Corsini chapel.

[3] This faces the Campagna looking across Porta S. Giovanni.

round the latter D.N.CARLO REGI (To our lord King Charles). This marks the mosaic as having been made before 800, as on Christmas Day of that year he was crowned emperor. Under this right mosaic are the words BEATE PETRE DONAS VITA LEON P.P. ET BICTORIA (VICTORIA) CARULO REGI DONAS (Blessed Peter thou givest life to Leo the pope and victory to Charles the king).

Lauer says that this contemporary portrait of Charlemagne was entirely altered by the copyist, being clean-shaven ; drawings from the old mosaic show a pointed beard and moustache and " bobbed " hair with a crown which resembles a cap, and under it the words " Hic est Carolus Magnus," etc. Sixtus V pulled down most of the old palace and built the existing one.

THE SANCTA SANCTORUM

or private chapel of the popes, was first dedicated to S. Laurence and given its present name later on account of the many relics it contained ; in its present state it dates from Innocent III, but was restored by Nicolas III and decorated by the Cosmati. Women are never allowed to go in, and one sees but dimly through the windows on each side of the entrance door ; the inscription on the inside, as given by Professor Marucchi, is : MAGISTER COSMATUS FECIT HOC OPUS NICOLAUS P.P. III HAC BASILICA A FUNDAMENTIS RENOVIT (Master Cosmatus has done this work. Pope Nicholas III renewed this basilica from the foundations." The little Cosmati arcades round the chapel are very attractive).

The Mirabiliana states[1] that in this chapel is " well-nigh all of the coat without seam, whereof the greater part is in the greater church . . . . where the altar-top is the Lord's table in the supper. Moreover, in the same church or chapel are the heads of the apostles Peter and Paul . . . . and a part of Christ's body that Christ consecrated in the supper and many other things besides. Also above, under a vault, is the image of the majesty painted by God's hand, the which the blessed Luke had drawn in the picture." In a legend dating from the twelfth century it was said that the picture was painted by S. Luke and finished by angels. In a Greek legend it is stated that the patriarch Germanus, wishing to save one of the holy pictures during the iconoclastic persecution, got to the sea pursued by the minions of Leo the Isaurian and confided it to the waves after writing on it, " Saviour, save thyself." It immediately stood up on the water, and, wafted by favourable winds, landed at Ostia, where Gregory II, warned in a dream, went to meet it. As Gregoro-

[1] *Mirabiliana*, I, iv.

vius remarks, that it was brought to Italy by some Greek monk flying from the persecution is perhaps a more likely thing. It is uncovered on S. John's Day and can be dimly seen from the windows by the door. Professor Marucchi says that the picture *seen* is painted on canvas and *covers* the original one painted on wood, which may date from the fifth century. Stephen III (752-57) carried this picture on his shoulders (a heavy burden !), walking bare-foot in a great procession to S. Maria Maggiore to implore Heaven's assistance against the Lombards ; while at the same time, holding no doubt that God helps those who help themselves, he wrote a very strong letter in the name of the apostle Peter to Pepin, king of the Franks.

The chapel was sacked by the hordes of Charles V in 1527. Leading up to it is the

SCALA SANCTA[1]

which, according to a late legend, had been trodden by Our Saviour in the house of Pilate ; the great veneration[2] in which it is now held dates only from the Middle Ages. " On September 19th, 1870, the eve of the invasion of Rome by the troops of Victor Emmanuel, Pope Pius IX came to the Scala Sancta, there to begin his passion, and in spite of his seventy-eight years mounted the twenty-eight steps of the staircase."

SAN GIOVANNI IN LATERANO

SACROS. LATERAN. ECCLES. OMNIUM URBIS ET ORBIS ECCLESIARUM MATER ET CAPUT (The most holy church of the Lateran, Mother and Head of all churches throughout the city and the world) so runs the inscription on the eastern façade of the great basilica, which claimed to have inherited the sanctity of Jerusalem—the Ark of the Covenant being preserved beneath its altar—and which the Liber Pontificalis ranked before S. Peter's and S. Paul's in respect of age. Its chapter takes precedence of that of S. Peter's, and before 1870 the pope when elected came here to be crowned ; it is his own cathedral as Bishop of Rome, S. Peter's being without the walls. Great jealousy of the supremacy of the Lateran was felt by the other leading basilicas, especially by that of S. Peter. Bulls were published by various popes, inclining some to one side some to the other, but the question was finally settled in favour of the Lateran by Pius V in 1569.

The church was founded by Constantine[3] and was possibly

[1] Moved to this site when the old palace was destroyed.
[2] The steps may only be ascended on the knees.
[3] *Lib. Pont.* Sylvester.

a house-basilica altered into a church. It was dedicated to the Saviour in 324, and was known for some time as Basilica Salvatoris, Constantinana or Aurea (the latter on account of its riches) ; later it took the name of San Giovanni, possibly from the neighbouring monastery of San Giovanni ; though it must be noted that Sergius III (see below) in his inscription speaks of San Giovanni as the patron " who had been formally appointed as such by Constantine."

After an earthquake in 896 and two fires, the basilica was in a very ruinous condition and Sergius III (904-11) restored it ; he seems to have kept the old foundations, but divided the interior into five aisles and added a portico with ten columns. It more than once suffered from fire, and in 1308 was so completely destroyed that hardly any of the old monuments are left. The ruin of the mother church of Christendom seemed to forbode some great disaster, and men hastened to contribute money for the rebuilding of the basilica ; it was again burnt in 1360 and restored by Urban V (1362-70) ; later popes contributed to its decoration.

Nothing is left of the Constantinian basilica, " except a few bits of the walls that support the roof." When the present form was given to the church these patches were left visible, but they are now concealed by paintings. The columns of the nave are hidden within hideous piers, on the inner side of which are the twenty-four verde antique pillars, which are said to have been used in the side aisles, but if so the aisles must have been very small ; they may have originally come from the palace. They are mounted on high bases and look very much out of place. The two granite columns supporting the triumphal arch were in the basilica before its defacement.

Visitors usually enter by the door of the north transept opposite the obelisk. It should be noted that the church is wrongly oriented and that the choir is at the west end.

NORTHERN TRANSEPT

In the chapel next the entrance is one of the very few relics that escaped destruction in the fourteenth century, a curious kneeling statue wearing a high tiara and said to represent Nicholas IV. Lauer thinks that the Caetani documents show it to be Boniface VIII, but the arms are not those of the Caetani.

Over the next door is a monument erected by Leo XIII to Innocent III, who was buried at Perugia.

Hanging from a balcony near the ceiling in the transept is a standard taken from the Turks in 1673 by John Sobieski. The colouring is in very faded stripes of red, green and gold with

crescents and stars. It is probable that not less than half a million men were set in motion by the Turks in this last great aggressive effort of the Turks against Christendom. The Emperor Leopold obtained a promise of help from John Sobieski, king of Poland; Creasy remarks that Poland was at peace with Turkey nor had the Porte in any way failed in observance of the recent treaty. But neither Sobieski nor the Christian adversaries of the Turks were very scrupulous as to such obligations.[1] The siege of Vienna by the Turks lasted from July 15th to September 12th, and Kara Mustapha, who "did more to ruin the Ottoman Empire than any other individual mentioned in its history," aroused the indignation of his army by his incompetence, selfishness and vain-glory. When Sobieski arrived the Turkish defeat was complete. After the victory a sermon was preached in the cathedral on the text: "And there was a man sent from God and his name was John."

Turning left into the aisle (the right aisle when facing the altar) we pass first the tomb of Antonio, Cardinal of Portugal, by Antonio Filarete, the figure being by a different hand. In the next aisle, at the back of the third pier of the nave, lie the ashes of Alexander III "the great pope of the Lombard League," the opponent of Frederick Barbarossa, and one of the greatest men who have filled the chair of Peter.

Near the bottom of the church on a pier in this same aisle is a fresco (under glass) of very great interest, representing Boniface VIII (Benedetto Caetani) at the jubilee of 1300, said to have been painted by Giotto. Boniface, the Greathearted Sinner (Magnanimus Peccator), as he was called by the men of his own day, proclaimed the first jubilee from the Lateran. There is a very interesting account of this jubilee by Villani:[2]

"In the year of Christ 1300 . . . . inasmuch as it was held by many that every hundred years from the Nativity of Christ, the Pope who was reigning at the time granted great indulgences, Pope Boniface VIII, who then occupied the Apostolic chair, in reverence for the Nativity of Christ granted supreme and great indulgences after this manner; that within the whole course of this said year, to whatever Roman should visit continuously for thirty days the churches of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and to all other people who were not Romans who should do likewise for fifteen days, there should be granted full and entire remission of all their sins, both the guilt and the

[1] It is a great pity that the countless Christian writers on European history who allude to the Ottomans have not studied the subject as Creasy did. Had they done so, they might have been convinced that the Turk very frequently behaved infinitely better than the Christian.

[2] *Chronicle.* Book VIII, 36.

punishment thereof, they having made or to make confession of the same. And for the consolation of the Christian pilgrims, every Friday and every solemn feast day, was shown in S. Peter's the Veronica, the true image of Christ, on the napkin. For the which thing a great part of the Christians who were living at that time, women as well as men, made the said pilgrimage from distant and divers countries, both from far and near. And it was the most marvellous thing that ever was seen, for throughout the year without a break there were in Rome, besides the inhabitants of the city, 200,000 pilgrims, not counting those who were coming and going on their journeys ; and all was well ordered and without tumult or strife ; and I can bear witness to this, for I was present and saw it. And from the offerings made by the pilgrims much treasure was added to the Church and all the Romans were enriched by the trade. And I, finding myself on that blessed pilgrimage in the holy city of Rome, beholding the great and ancient things therein, and reading the stories and the great doings of the Romans, written by Virgil and by Sallust and by Lucan and by Titus Livius and Valerius and Paulus Orosius, and other masters of history, who wrote, alike of small things as of great, of the deeds and actions of the Romans, and also of foreign nations throughout the world, myself to preserve memorials and give examples to those who should come after took up their style and design, although as a disciple I was not worthy of such a work." He goes on to say that he proposes to write the chronicle of Florence, ". . . . and thus in the year 1300, having returned from Rome, I began to compile this book, in reverence to God and the blessed John, and in commendation of our city of Florence."

Villani calls Boniface " very wise both in learning and in natural wit, a man very cautious and experienced and of great knowledge and memory ; very haughty he was and proud, and cruel towards his enemies and adversaries, and was of a great heart and much feared by all people . . . . A man of large schemes was he, and liberal to folk which pleased him and were worthy, very desirous of worldly pomp according to his estate, and very desirous of wealth, not scrupulous, not having very strict or great conscience about every gain to enrich the Church and his nephews." He was the last pope who advanced such claims to universal rule as had been made by Gregory VII and Innocent III, and a modern writer has justly remarked that his tomb was the gravestone of the mediaeval papacy.

The pope had the proclamation of the jubilee commemorated by frescoes, of which this portrait is a fragment, and

[1] Ibid. VIII, 64.

we may accept it as a contemporary portrait, even if not by Giotto, who, however, was certainly in Rome at this time. The fresco shows a smiling and somewhat smug face; not at all what one would expect to see as the portrait of such a man.

The last chapel on the left is that of the Corsini. Under it were discovered in 1733 many objects dating from A.D. 197 and relating to the Equites Singulares.

Going out of the church at this east end, we find a portico with five doors, one, the jubilee door, of Porta Santa marble. The bronze ones in the middle come from the Curia Hostilia, and are brought here by Alexander VII (Chigi, 1655-67) who enlarged them with a surrounding band having his arms—a star—used as the ornamentation.

At one end of the portico is a colossal statue of Constantine, a coarse, fat and horrible figure, not at all agreeing with Eusebius' account of his beautiful emperor.[1] It seems impossible that it should be (as is sometimes said) the statue spoken of by him as having been erected, holding the Labarum,[2] but the hand certainly originally held something.

We now return to the interior and going up the left side come to the door of the lovely

CLOISTERS

of the twelfth century, which are by Pietro Vassaletto and his son, whose signatures can be seen in the colonnade of the south aisle.[4] "I, Vassalectus, a noble and skilful master in my profession, have finished alone this work which I began in company with my father." There is an exquisite string-course (on the garden side); in the centre is a well-head attributed to the ninth or tenth century.

Under the colonnade are some beautifully enriched escutcheons of various popes, a large flat stone on square pillars, which was said to mark the height of Christ (well over six feet), part of a reliquary with the Colonna arms on it, signed by Adeodatus, and the so-called throne of Sylvester. This is partly mediæval, but the classic seat long ante-dates Sylvester and bears much resemblance to those in S. Gregorio and S. Pietro in Vincoli. It has been suggested that they are some of the marble seats brought back from Greece by Hadrian for the podium of the Coliseum.

[1] "He surpassed all present in height of stature and beauty of form, as well as in majestic dignity of mien, and invincible strength and vigour." *Life of Con.* III, x.

[2] *Ch. Hist.* IX, 9.

[3] The door is on the left just before the steps up to the transept.

[4] On going into the garden by the south opening in the colonnade, it is on the first pilaster on the right side above the cornice.

THE OLD SACRISTY

opens into this colonnade, and the bronze doors were made for Celestine III by Magister Hubert and Peter his brother.

They are very plain, with a border of stars and two inscriptions on the upper panels: INCARNACOIS DNI.CS.ANO. M.C.XC.VI. PONTIFICAT DNI. CELESTINI.PP.III.ANNO VI. CENCIO. CAMERARIO MINISTRATE HOC OPUS FACTUI EST (In the year of Our Lord's Incarnation, 1196, in sixth year of the pontificate of the lord Pope Celestine III, Cencius serving as chamberlain, this work was done). UBERT MAGISTER PETRUS EI.FR.PLACENTINI FECERUNT HOC OP. (Master Hubert and Peter his brother from Piacenza did this work.)

Above the colonnade is a loggia belonging to the monastery. Returning to the church we find in

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT

the chapel of the Sacrament, where is a relic of Constantine's age, four great fluted bronze columns. A current belief ascribed these originally to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; it was said that Constantine placed here "four columns of gilded bronze, which the ancient consuls had brought to the Capitol from the Campius Martius and placed in the temple of Jove . . ." and again, "Augustus, the conqueror of all Egypt, bore off many rostra from the naval contest, with which he made four fluted columns which were afterwards placed by Domitian in the Capitol; we can behold them to this day, for they were set up by the great emperor Constantine in the basilica of the Saviour."[1] Benjamin of Tudela says that they came from the works of King Solomon[2] and in the list of relics (on the left of the door of the new sacristy) it is related that "the four present pillars did Titus and Vespasian make to be brought of the Jews from Jerusalem."[3] They are "mentioned for the first time under Constantine, who offered them to the church to be used as 'pharocantharoi' (lighthouses or pillars supporting a circle of lights on their capitals) on either side of the altar." Clement VIII finding them injured and without capitals, collected all the Etruscan objects of bronze antique art that he could find (600 to 700 pounds weight came from Corneto alone) and with the most unpardonable vandalism melted them down for his restorations. The columns are quite spoilt by being brilliantly

[1] *Codex urbis Romae topographicus* (Graphia urbis Romae) Ed. Urlichs 117. E cod. Vat. 1984, fol. 52.

[2] *Mirabiliana* II.

[3] *Mirabiliana* IV, 3.

gilt and decorated with Clement's (Aldobrandini) crest—a star. The floor of the

NAVE

was laid down by Martin V (Oddo Colonna, 1417-31) and shows his arms—a column. It is a most beautiful work, but involved the destruction of many interesting monuments, as the contractors were given permission to take marbles from any church where Mass was no longer celebrated. It was Martin V who put an end to the Western Schism. In the Confession is his tomb, a fine work of Simone Ghini and his only known one, though he probably assisted in the doors of S. Peter's. Platina[1] says that Martin V was "by his own order buried in S. John's church, near the heads of the apostles in a brazen tomb, and attended by all the people of Rome and the clergy, weeping as if the Church of God and the city of Rome had been bereft of their only and their best parent." Over the high altar is the

TABERNACLE

of Urban V, its decorations being completed by later popes. Berna of Siena is said to have painted the fresco. The reputed heads of Peter and Paul were removed by Urban from the Sancta Sanctorum and placed here, enclosed in silver busts, works of Giovanni Bartoli of Siena.[2] As the Lateran was within the walls, it contained no local martyr; its chief relic in early days was a wooden table, at which S. Peter is said to have celebrated Mass. From this arose the custom of only the pope in person officiating at the high altar in the major or patriarchal basilicas.[3]

We now approach the

CHOIR AND TRIBUNE,

which dated from the time of Nicholas IV, but were enlarged by Leo XIII, who actually took down and re-erected the wonderful mosaics. In the centre is a large Head of Christ surrounded by a glory of angels. There was a legend to the effect that His Head appeared in the tribune at the dedication of the church. The mosaic shows regular features with flowing hair and full beard; the nimbus is formed of a plain gold circle on a blue background, decked with red and gold clouds. The head is of a very early type, and may date from the fifth or even the

[1] *Lives of Popes*, Martin V, vol. II, p. 212.

[2] The present busts are copies made in 1804. They are exposed at the feast of S. John and on the day preceding.

[3] These were the Lateran, S. Peter's, S. Paul's and S. Maria Maggiore. In early days S. Lorenzo was included.

fourth century. Father Grisar suggests that it may date from the time of Sylvester. Of the angels in the glory, that on the extreme right seems to have been renewed.

Below the Head of Christ is a large cross surmounted by the Dove ; on either side is a row of figures. To the left, the Virgin presents to the Saviour the (miniature) figure of Nicholas IV, by whose side is a small St. Francis and taller figures of SS. Peter and Paul. On the right side are S. John the Baptist, a small figure of S. Antony and SS. John the Evangelist and Andrew. Deer and other animals surround the base of the cross, under which four streams well out into a river whereon are represented cupids in boats, fish, etc. One child, standing on a swan's tail, is driving in what used to be the Italian fashion with a rein in each hand. This zone of mosaics is inscribed on the extreme left-hand side of the border in white letters, close to one of the tiny genii : JACOBUS TORRIT. PICTO. HOC OP. FECIT.[1]

It has been said on the authority of Vasari[2] that this Jacopus Torriti was identical with Jacopus the Franciscan, who worked in the baptistery at Florence, but there is no proof of this, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle call the Franciscan a very inferior artist. In the third zone between the windows are nine prophets of square frame whose draperies and attitudes resemble those of the Florentine mosaics. In this zone, on the left between the second and third prophets (counting from the left), is a miniature figure of an aged Franciscan with a compass and a rule ; on the same border to the right (between the seventh and eighth prophets) is a youthful kneeling Franciscan with a hammer striking a board. This figure is inscribed FRATER JACOBUS DE CAMERINO SOCIUS MAGISTRI OPERIS RECOMENDAT SE MISERICORDIAE DEI ET MERITIS BEATI JOANNIS (Brother James of Camerino companion of the master of this work recommends himself to the mercy of God and the merits of Blessed John) in letters just below the board. The old Franciscan whose name is not inscribed or has been lost, and Jacopo da Camerino, were probably the joint authors of this zone.[3]

THE RETRO-CHOIR

Behind the choir ran the Portico Leonino, so-called from its

[1] This is actually on the mosaic, just above the border.

[2] Bohn's Ed. I, 80.

[3] Lauer thinks the anonymous Franciscan in the picture under the signature of Torrito is Torrito himself. He appears to consider that he did both zones ; he says that it would be very odd if an associate were portrayed while the master of the work was not ; but Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that in no case can this lower zone be assigned to Torrito.

founder Leo I, but this has been transformed into a modern corridor. Here are two very quaint and rudely sculptured figures of SS. Peter and Paul, which belonged to the basilica before the fire of the fourteenth century. By the new sacristy door are two tables which seem to be contemporary, one—that on the right—recording in verse the restoring of the church by Nicholas IV in 1291, the other being a list of relics as follows: "This Basilica of Our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ and of S. John the Baptist and of the blessed John the Evangelist, is ennobled by the most holy and venerable sanctuaries; in the first place this wooden altar, which God's holy pontiffs and martyrs had from the time of the Apostles, and whereon through the crypts and divers hiding-places they celebrated masses when the rage of persecution was threatening them; upon which, above, is the table of Our Lord, whereat Christ supped with his disciples in the day of His [Passion]. And in this altar are two phials of the blood and water from Christ's side. Moreover, there is a part of Christ's cradle, the Coat without Seam and His purple robe. Moreover there is the napkin which was about His Head, and the towel that he washed His disciples' feet withal. Moreover there is of the five barley loaves; and of the ashes and blood of S. John the Baptist; and his Raiment of camel's hair; of manna from the tomb of Saint John the Evangelist, and his Coat, and also part of his Chain wherewith he came bound from Ephesus, and the shears that he was shorn withal by command of Caesar Domitian. And beneath this Altar is the Ark of the Covenant, wherein are the Two Tables of the Testament, Moses' rod and the rod of Aaron. There is also the Golden Candlestick and the Golden Censer full of incense and an urn of gold full of manna and some of the Shewbread. Now this Ark with the candlestick and the things aforesaid, together with the four present pillars did Titus and Vespasian make to be brought of the Jews from Jerusalem to the City even as it is seen to this day in the Triumphal Arch that is nigh unto the church of Saint Mary New, for their victory and for a perpetual remembrance of them, set up by the Roman Senate and people."[1] Titus' name (which begins at the end of the eighth line from the bottom), as so often, precedes his father's.

The Mirabilia Urbis Romae[2] gives a wonderful list of the treasures of the basilica, which is worth repeating: "In the days of Pope Sylvester, Constantine Augustus made the Lateran basilica, the which he comely adorned. And he put there the Ark of the Covenant, which Titus had carried away from Jeru-

[1] *Mirabiliana* IV, 3.
[2] II, 8.

salem with many thousands of Jews ; and the golden candlestick having seven lamps with vessels of oil. In the which ark be these things, to wit, the golden emerods, the mice of gold, the tables of the covenant, the rod of Aaron, manna, the barley loaves, the golden urn, the coat without seam, the reed and garment of St. John the Baptist and the tongs that S. John the Evangelist was shorn withal."

Zachary of Mitylene, who wrote in 540, says that the spoils of Jerusalem were then in Rome,[1] but, unless Procopius was mistaken, this was not so (see Forum, Arch of Titus). To the north-west of the basilica stands

THE BAPTISTERY

San Giovanni in Fonte had, according to tradition, " originally been built as a hall belonging to the palace where Constantine had received baptism at the hands of Sylvester." The Liber Pontificalis[2] says he " restored and baptised with glory Constantine Augustus whom he had cured through baptism of leprosy." This, of course, is incorrect, as the emperor was only received into the Christian Church just before his death, which took place in Asia Minor. He " went to Nicomedia, took up his residence in the suburb and there received Christian baptism."[3] The much-discussed reason why he was only baptised on his death-bed seems a very simple one. When, overtaken by his last illness, he asked for the rite to be administered, he said, " I had thought to do this in the waters of the river Jordan, wherein Our Saviour for our example is recorded to have been baptised ; but God, Who knows what is expedient for us, is pleased that I should receive this blessing here."[4] But it was Constantine who founded the Baptistery.

The present building is the work of Sixtus III (432-40), and here he erected the " columns which had been collected in the time of Constantine Augustus, eight in number, made of porphyry and he set them in place and decorated them with letters and verses."[5] Above the pillars he placed a marble entablature with the inscription :

[1] *Eccles. Hist.*
[2] *Lib. Pont.* Sylvester.
[3] Socrates I, xxxix. Sozomen II, xxxiv.
[4] Eus. *Life Con.* IV, lxii. Professor Marucchi says he received the catechumenate at the Lateran.
[5] *Lib. Pont.* Sixtus III.

GENS SACRANDA POLIS HIC SEMINE NASCITUR ALMO
QUAM FOECUNDITATIS SPIRITUS ADIT AQUIS
MERGERE PECCATOR SACRO PURGANDE FLUENTO
QUEM VETEREM ACCIPIET PRAEFERET UNDA NOMEN
NULLA RENASCENTUM EST DISTANTIA QUOS FACIT UNUS
UNUS FONS UNUS SPIRITUS UNA FIDES
VIRGINEO FETU GENETRIX ECCLESIA NATOS
QUOS SPIRANTE DEO CONCIPIT AMNE PARIT
INSONS ESSE VOLENS ISTO MUNDARE LAVACRO
SEU PATRIO PREMERIS CRIMINE SEU PROPRIO
FONS HIC EST VITA ET QUI TOTUM DILUIT ORBEM
SUMENS DE CHRISTI VULNERE PRINCIPIUM
COELORUM REGNUM SPERATE HOC FONTE RENATI
NON RECIPIT FELIX VITA SEMEL GENITOS
NEC NUMERUS QUEMQUAM SCELERUM NEC FORMA SUORUM
TERREAT HOC NATUS FLUMINE SANCTUS ERIT.

Some commentators place this second half of the inscription first.

" Here of nourishing seed is born a people sacred to Heaven, whom the spirit of fruitfulness approaches on the waters. Plunge, O Sinner who needest to be cleansed, into the sacred flood ; the water will receive thee old and will confer on thee a new name. There is no difference in those of the newly-born whom it makes one ; one fount, one spirit, one faith.

" The Mother Church in virginal birth by the breath of God conceives those who are born and in this stream she brings them forth ; if you wish to be innocent, bathe in this cleansing place, whether you are oppressed with your father's sin or with your own. This fount is life, and cleanses all the world ; it takes its birth from the wound of Christ. Hope for heaven ye who are reborn in this fount, for the happy life does not receive those who are born once only. Nor let the number nor kind of his sins affright anyone ; he shall be born in this river and shall become holy."

This inscription supports " an upper wall pierced by arches, the whole being crowned with a cupola. At the present day the entablature is surrounded by a second row of columns and a modern superstructure."[1] The font is said to be the original (stripped of its primitive decorations) of Constantine's time, but certainly does not look as if it could be so.

BORGIA CHAPEL

Opposite the present entrance is the Borgia Chapel, which was originally the atrium. At its outer entrance it has two

[1] Gris. Vol. II, p. 25. Gregorovius Vol. II, p. 137.

very tall porphyry columns with very richly carved bases and capitals and on the outside a good cornice. A flight of steps leads up to a little lawn, and from there one can get into the retro-choir. This chapel was decorated in the fifth century with two mosaics, of which one still exists : vines on a blue ground ; the colouring is crude ; the atrium was transformed into an oratory by Anastasius IV (1153-4).

ORATORY OF S. VENANZIO

is on the left of the above (standing with back to the Baptistery door), built by Celestine III and first dedicated to S. Steph n ; John IV brought here several martyrs from Salona, whose portraits are seen in the coarse mosaic of the apse. Here are two pairs of small pillars (possibly from some ciborium) with very rich capitals and the double Constantinian flutes.

ORATORY OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST,

on the right of the Baptistery (standing with back to door), was made by Pope Hilary (461-7). He " built three oratories in the baptistery of the basilica of Constantine, one to holy John the Baptist, one to holy John the Evangelist and one to the Holy Cross."[1] The bronze doors inlaid with silver crosses and inscriptions are an " example of early Christian art of great value on account of its scarceness." According to tradition, they were taken from the baths of Caracalla, in which case the crosses must be the only Christian part ; they are inferior to the doors of the Heroon of Romulus and of the Lateran basilica. Over the door outside is the inscription HILARIUS EPISCOPUS SANCTI PLEBI DEI (Hilary the bishop to the people of the Holy God). Opposite to this is the

ORATORY OF S. JOHN THE EVANGELIST,

erected by Pope Hilary to comemmorate his escape from the Robber Synod of Ephesus. Dean Milman thinks the council has been somewhat unfairly branded with this name, as its constitution was legal and the numbers and dignity of the assembled prelates unimpeachable. True, the proceedings soon degenerated into disgraceful turbulence and violence and personal conflicts, but in this it only followed the example of the Oecumenical Council of Ephesus. However this may be, Hilary was present as one of the representatives of Leo I, who notified his advent to Theodosius Augustus II, calling him " my son, Hilary the deacon."[2] Three hundred and sixty bishops and

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Hilary. The last named oratory was destroyed in the seventeenth century.

[2] *Epis.* XXIX.

priests are said to have been present at the Synod, and many were compelled by force to sign what they disapproved. Hilary pronounced the one word " Contradicitur " and in the confusion escaped from Ephesus. Leo described the synod to Theodosius,[1] the details of which he had learned " not from some untrustworthy messenger, but from a most faithful narrator of the things which have been done, Hilary, our deacon, who, lest he should be compelled by force to subscribe to their proceedings, with great difficulty made his escape." Over the door is the restored inscription LIBERATORI SUO BEATO JOHANNI EVANGELISTAE HILARIUS EPISCOPUS FAMULUS XPI (Hilary bishop and servant of Christ to his deliverer the Blessed Evangelist John). He is thought to have taken refuge in John's tomb.[2]

The bronze doors were executed and signed by the brothers Hubert and Peter of Lausanne. The inscription is as follows on the right side : ANNO V PONTIFICAT CELESTINI III PP CECIO CADINS LUCE EI DE DNI OP CAMERARIO IUBENTE OPUS ISTUD FACT. V.E. On the left : HUI OPIS UBERT ET PETR FR MAGISTRI LAUSENEN FUERUNT (In the fifth year of the pontificate of Pope Celestin III, when Cencius was Cardinal of S. Lucia, at the bidding of [him] the chamberlain, they completed this work as the work of the Lord. Hubert and Peter, brothers and masters of Lausanne, were the authors of this work).

The mosaic ceiling of the fifth century shows the Lamb of God amidst garlands of flowers, baskets of fruit, and the most extraordinarily life-like birds—ducks, parrots, quails, etc.—they might have been done yesterday, so fresh are they.

Excavations have recently been carried out under the floor of the Baptistery and bits of walls, pavements, etc., are now exposed to view—part possibly of the Domus Laterana ?

THE HOSPITAL OF THE SAVIOUR

Facing nearly east and looking on to the obelisk is a great hospital known as the Hospital of the Saviour ; the foundation

[1] Ibid. XLIV. 1.

[2] It is doubtful whether the John buried at Ephesus is the Evangelist or merely *a* disciple of Our Lord, but it is certain that, whoever he was, the churches regarded his authority as paramount ; he was known to Polycarp. That it *was* the apostle is a fact less positively disputed now than some time ago. It has been said that there were two tombs in Ephesus both called " of John "; possibly of two men of the same name. Jerome says that in his day one of the sepulchres was shown as that of John the Presbyter, " though some think that there are two memorials of this same John the Evangelist," who died in Ephesus " in the 68th year after Our Lord's Passion, and was buried near the same city." (*Lives Illus. Men*, IX.)

by the Confraternità or Compagnia del Salvatore ad Sancta Sanctorum, dates from 1348. On the door on the north side (furthest from the obelisk) is the inscription HOSPI. SALVA. REFUGIUM PAUPER ET INFIRMOR. HOC OPUS INCHOATUM EST TEMPORE GUARDIANATUS FRANCISC. VECCHI ET FRANCISCI ROSATI PRIOR. SUB ANNO DOMINI MCCCXLVIII. IND : SECUNDA MENS SEPTBR (This work was begun in the time of the guardianship of Francisco Vecchio and Francisco Rosati Priors, in the year of Our Lord, 1347, in the second indiction, in the month of September).

Near this building is another belonging to it (facing south) which is used as a sanatorium. It has the arms of the confraternity on the side facing towards the obelisk, with Christ's Head between two burning tapers.

CHAPTER XI

FIVE GREAT BASILICAS

THE BASILICA OF S. PAUL WITHOUT THE WALLS

"THE tradition that S. Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome is early and universal and disputed by no counter tradition." That he came to Rome we know from the contemporary evidence of the Acts of the Apostles. Whether he paid one or two visits to the capital is a much-disputed question, and on it, of course, depends the date of his death. When he was apprehended in Jerusalem he pleaded his cause before Felix, a great favourite, says Suetonius,[1] of the Emperor Claudius, whom "he not only preferred to command both of cohorts and troops, but to the government of the province of Judea." Tacitus[2] gives the governor a very bad character and says "Felix . . . . supposed he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villainy." "After this, Festus was sent by Nero," says Eusebius, "to be Felix' successor. Under him, having made his defence, Paul was sent bound to Rome . . . And Luke, who wrote the Acts of the Apostles, brought his history to a close at this point after stating that Paul spent two whole years at Rome as a prisoner at large, and preached the word of God without restraint.[3] Then, after he had made his defence, it is said that the apostle was again sent upon the ministry of preaching, and again coming to the same city a second time, he suffered martyrdom."[4] Nero's persecution began in 64 and lasted for about four years. Jerome, who believes in Paul's two visits, puts his death in 68. "It ought to be said that at the first defence, the power of Nero having not yet been confirmed nor his wickedness broken forth to such a degree as the histories relate concerning him, Paul was dismissed by Nero, that the gospel of Christ might be preached also in the West . . . .

[1] *Lives of Caesars, Claudius* XXVIII.

[2] *An.* XII, 54.

[3] "And when we came to Rome the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the guard; but Paul was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him," Acts XXVIII, 16.

[4] Eusebius *Ch. Hist.* II, xxii, 1-3.

He, then, in the fourteenth year of Nero, on the same day with Peter, was beheaded in Rome for Christ's sake and was buried on the Ostian way."[1] The apocryphal Acts of Paul and the Itineraries say that he was martyred at Aqua Salviae on the Via Laurentina,[2] where stands the present church of S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane. "At Anastasius is a cloister of Cistercian monks," says the Mirabiliana, "at the Salvian Well, where be three wells . . . . There was the blessed Paul beheaded and when he was beheaded he cried thrice, Jesus, Jesus, Jesus, and in each place a well flowed after the three leaps of the head."[3]

The fact that S. Luke ends the Acts of the Apostles with the words he does[4] certainly points to the fact that Paul was released after one trial, and the "two years" are considered to have—almost certainly—ended in 63. He may then have revisited the churches of Greece and Syria and also gone to Spain. S. Clement speaks of his having been to the limits of the West,[5] and this can hardly mean Rome, seeing that Clement was writing *in* Rome. The probable date of his death was 67.

The burial of Paul on the Via Ostiensis, the possible removal of his body to S. Sebastiano, and its restoration to the original grave are discussed under "Basilica of S. Peter."

The first place of worship built over Paul's tomb was probably a small oratory, the remains of which were found under the basilica of Constantine, differently oriented; the Emperor built the church at "the bidding of Sylvester the bishop and laid his body away there in bronze and enclosed it, as he did the body of blessed Peter."[6]

In 386 an edict of Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius was addressed to Sallustius the city praefect, commissioning him to take counsel with Pope Siricius (384-98), and with the Senate and people, "with a view to erecting a new church."[7] This larger church was finished early in the fifth century under Honorius, was oriented differently to Constantine's, and was entered on the side of the Tiber, a bend of which is not far from the present atrium, though it is hidden by a wall. An entire transformation took place under Leo I (440-61). No harm seems to have been done here by the Goths; Procopius has an interesting notice at this date: "Now there is a certain church of the Apostle Paul, fourteen stades distant from the fortifica-

[1] Jer. *Lives Ill. Men*, V.

[2] Often spoken of as the Via Ostiensis as the two roads bifurcate not far from here.

[3] *Mirabiliana* I, 5.

[4] "Preaching the Kingdom of God . . . . no man forbidding him."

[5] Clem. I, *Ep. Cor.* V, 7.

[6] *Lib. Pont.* Sylvester. 21.

[7] This edict is, I believe, still extant, but I have not seen it.

tions of Rome, and the Tiber river flows beside it. In that place there is no fortification, but a colonnade extends all the way from the city to the church, and many other buildings which are round about it render the place not easy of access. But the Goths show a certain degree of actual respect for sanctuaries such as this. And, indeed, during the whole time of the war no harm came to either church of the two Apostles at their hands ; but all the rites were performed in them by the priests in the usual manner."[1]

Duchesne is of opinion that the Saracens were beaten here by the militia of the Campagna in the time of Sergius II (844-47), but they seem to have sacked the church before the reign of Benedict III (855-58), as the Liber Pontificalis says that " in the basilica of the blessed Apostle Paul, the doctor of the world, he adorned the tomb which had been destroyed by the Saracens with silver plates weighing 103 pounds."[2] Various restorations and alterations were done at different dates, but the building was wrecked by fire in 1823, nothing remaining intact but the Confession, the triumphal arch, the apse and part of the southern wall of the nave.

In approaching the basilica from Rome one sees twelve tall pillars in two rows, eight in the front row and four at the back ; on the second pillar from the right in the back row is a band just below the capital ; it was originally on a smaller pillar and only partly clasps the present one, like a bracelet which is too small to meet. On this band are the words—very indistinct—SIRICIUS EPISCOPUS TOTA MENTE DEVOTUS and after the second word is the monogram of Christ with the Alpha and Omega. This inscription was written at the time of the building of Valentinian's church, and on the base of the original pillar was the date of the dedication—November 18th, 390—and the name of the architect Flavius Philippus. This, I understand, is now in the monastery.[3]

We will now enter the basilica and go straight to the main point of interest,

THE CONFESSION

Commendatore Lanciani is of opinion that the grave of S. Paul has never been opened ; that though the Saracens damaged the marble covering, they did not reach the actual grave. When digging for the foundations of the modern baldacchino (now happily removed) tombs of different epochs and a wall of a style pointing to the end of the first or the very

[1] *Hist. Wars*, VI, iv, 9-10.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* Benedict, III. 22.

[3] I have been unable to find out whether it is still (1927) there or has been moved.

beginning of the second century were discovered ; the latter probably belonging to a pagan temple-tomb, was close to that of the apostle ; these discoveries show that S. Paul was buried in an ordinary pagan cemetery.

It has been said that the inscription still over the apostle's grave is of Constantine's date ; but this is a mistake ; not only are the letters of the style of the end of the fourth century,[1] but it has been pointed out that had it been a sepulchral epitaph the nominative case would have been used, whereas the nouns are in the dative as in a dedicatory inscription ; it probably belongs to the time of Siricius. The slab lies below the High Altar, and on opening the fenestrella one can see[2] the words PAOLO APOSTOLO MART in big letters very roughly carved and crooked. The slab, which probably originally stood upright, has been broken, the end of the word MART coming right up to one edge ; there are small holes cut in the stone, possibly for the burning of incense.

Over the tomb stands a graceful, rich and light ciborium, according to many authorities by Arnolfo di Cambio's own hand.[3] The dome of the ciborium is beautiful ; the cross within its vaulted and ribbed roof is of white and gold with angels flying downwards on the four sides. On the canopy are three inscriptions. Right : HOC OPUS FECIT ARNOLFUS. Left : CUM SOCIO PETRO. Centre : ANNO MILLENO GENTU BIS ET OCTUAGENO QUINTO SUMME DS QD HIC ABBAS BARTHOLOMAEUS FECIT OP FIERI SIBI TU DIGNARE MERERI (" This work did Arnolfo. With Peter his companion. In the year one thousand two hundred and eighty-five. O most high God, the abbot Bartholomew caused this work to be done. Do Thou deign to reward him.") Above the Confession stands the

TRIUMPHAL ARCH

decorated by Galla Placidia and Leo I (440-61) with mosaics. In the centre is a very large bust of Christ of most unpleasing countenance ; on a lower level stand Peter and Paul. Across the top of all is the inscription : TEODOSIUS CEPIT PERFECIT ONORIUS AULAM DOCTORIS MUNDI SACRATAM CORPORE PAULI (" Theodosius began, Honorius completed the temple made holy by the body of Paul, the

[1] De Rossi and Armellini do not agree with this ; they assign the letters to the time of Constantine.

[2] It is necessary to use a strongish torch.

[3] It has of course been asserted that Arnolfo di Cambio the architect and Arnolfo Fiorentino were distinct persons. The tomb of Boniface VIII is signed Arnolphus, architectus, and that this Arnolphus made the ciborium in S. Paul's is, in Mr. Langton Douglas' opinion, certain.

teacher of the world "), round the arch runs a second : PLACIDIAE PIA MENS OPERIS DECUS HOMNE PA ERNI, GAUDET PONTIFICIS STUDIO SPLENDERE LEONIS (" The pious mind of Placidia rejoices that all the splendour of the paternal work should shine forth through the zeal of the Pontiff Leo "), while two others are above the heads of the Apostles : S. Peter : VOCE DEI FIS PETRE DEI PETRA CULMEN HONORIS. AULE CELESTIS SPLENDORET HOMNE DECUS (" By the voice of God, thou, O Peter, wast made the corner stone of Heaven ; all beauty shines in the heavenly court "). Paul : PERSEQUIT DUM VASA DEI FIT PAULUS HONORIS : VAS SE DELECTUM GENTIBUS ESSE PROBAT : (" While . . . . he persecutes the vessels of God, Paul becomes a vessel of honour and shows that he is sent to the gentiles ").

THE APSE

The mosaics of the apse were executed by Venetian artists. I believe the letter still exists in the Vatican which was written by Honorius I (1217-27) to the Doge of Venice, asking him to send men fitted for the work. Christ with saints on either side is adored by Honorius, who, kneeling leaning forward on the steps of the throne with his head thrown back, looks exactly like a tortoise. Below this is a row of saints and angels. The lower part of the picture is hidden by the hideous cornice and can only be seen from the other end of the church ; from this point one can see what purports to be a representation of the Holy Innocents : five large, completely clothed boys of about ten years of age with a kneeling monk on either side ; above them is an altar with a cross, which is just below Christ's feet, and in the middle of the row of saints on the right of this cross are the words GLA.INE.CEL.CIS DO. and on the left ETI NTERRA PAX H B V (" Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will "). Above the monks is written on the right IOH:GRITAUS ABBAS (John Gritaus, Abbot), and on the left ADINULEUS. This John, Abbot, is alluded to below.

At the bottom of the whole mosaic is the inscription :

TOTIUS ORBIS HONOR QUOD HONORIUS ARTIS HONORE
PAPA PRIUS FECIT FULGET FULGENTE DECORE
ABBAS POST PAPA QUEM CHRISTUS AD ALTA VOCA
VIT OMNE JOHANNIS OPUS MIRA PIETATE BEAVIT.

" A beauty to the whole world which first Honorius the Pope with the beauty of art caused to shine with glittering ornament.

The Abbot John, when Christ had called the Pope on high, completed the work with marvellous piety."

I have seen an excellent engraving of this mosaic in the museum now attached to the monastery, but it is not yet (1925) open to the public.

In the FIRST CHAPEL to the left of the tribune, Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, took his vows, in the SECOND on the right are twelve fluted columns brought from the old Etruscan city of Veii.

In the RIGHT TRANSEPT is a wonderful candelabra some twenty to twenty-five feet high, a signed work of Pietro Vassaletto and Nicola di Angelo ; the signature—very indistinct—is on the fillet above the first band of decoration : EGO NICOLAUS DE ANGELO CUM PETRE BASSALETTO HOC OPUS COPLEVI (" I, Nicholas de Angelo, with Peter Vassaletto completed this work "). Another inscription runs round the bottom of the band (this I have been unable to decipher) and yet a third is on a fillet just above the lions' heads : ARBOR POMA GERIT : ARBOR EGO LUMINA GESTO : PORTO LIBAMINA : NUNTIO GAUDIA SED DIE FESTO SURREXIT CHRISTUS : NAM TALIA MUNERA PST (" The tree bears apples. I the tree bear lights. I carry the offerings. I announce gladness and moreover on the joyful day whereon Christ rose again I now offer great gifts ").

THE MUSEUM

opens from a passage leading from the sacristy and contains many things of note, including a pair of bronze doors which were made when the great Hildebrand (Gregory VII) was cardinal deacon and administrator of S. Paul's ; they were executed in Constantinople by Staurachios at the order of the consul Pantaleone of Amalfi. These gates were terribly damaged in the fire of 1823, and it is very difficult to make out the subjects of such of the reliefs as were not entirely destroyed. In the course of time the position of the different reliefs must have been changed, as they are not now in the same order as is shown in some old engravings of them which are also in the museum. There are three inscriptions which are very indistinct on the doors, but can be copied from the engravings. They are all really part of one inscription, and run as follows :

" O blessed Paul, cease not from pouring forth thy prayers to God for Pantaleone, Consul of Amalfi, who implores thee. For led by love of thee he has made thee these doors ; wherefore let there be opened to him by thee the Gate of Life. Wherefore

he, a suppliant, prays the Lord whom thou art ever near, that by your prayers God would grant him to be what thou art.[1]

"Thou, too, who goest up to the threshold of the holy temple, look upon these doors through which thou eagerly enterest; and as thou goest in to the Lord, bear his [Pantaleone's] tears together with a prayer; that God may give him everlasting rest. May the intercession of Paul obtain this for him, who has so loved him as to adorn him with this gift.[2]

"In the year 1070 from Our Lord's Incarnation, in the time of our lord Alexander most holy Pope, by the skill of the lord Ildebrand, venerable monk and archdeacon, these doors were built in the royal city of Constantinople with the help of the Lord. Pantaleone, consul, who ordered them to be made."[3]

Ildebrand's name can be detected L D E R on the extreme right of the inscription and D I on the next line. Of Pantaleone's name ANTALEONE is visible, running down the side of the first panel in the eighth row from the top. His name is also on the first panel from the left in the sixth row from the top, where a man, presumably himself, is represented at the feet of two standing men.

THE CLOISTERS,

which are magnificent, are the work of one of the Vassaletti, whose signature MAGISTER PETRUS FECIT H.OP. is in the arcade above the arch opening to the garden on the side nearest the church. The following inscription runs round three sides of the cloister on its external face: "This spot which splendour adorns is ruled by a consecrated band. Here a sect of monks studies, reads and prays. Cloister it is called, as it surrounds the cloistered and the enclosure where the throng of pious brothers rejoicing in Christ is kept unharmed. This outer work ranks before all else in the city; within there shines the rule of the monastic band. The adorning of the cloister is of gold throughout its length; and the wonderful workmanship surpasses the fabric. This work, by his art, Peter, born at Capua, blessed as a cardinal at Rome, offered as first-fruits. The provident hand of John, born at Ardea during the years when he lived as abbot here, completed the rest." Fedele says that the words are not intended to convey the idea either that the Cardinal Peter was the artist or the abbot. Why Peter

[1] This is on the fifth panel from the left in the fifth row from the top.

[2] This is on the second panel from the left edge in the fifth row from the top.

[3] This is on the fifth row from the left between the seventh and eighth rows from the top.

did work at S. Paul's is not clear, but he seems to have been a munificent patron of the arts.

The wooden ceiling of the cloister is very attractive ; the roof is of corrugated red tiles, and above are the rather faded pinky-orange walls of the monastery.[1]

In the arcade is the sarcophagus of Petrus Leonis (Pierleone), who died in 1128 ; it is of the third century and sculptured with figures of Apollo, Marsyas and the Muses. On a panel is the epitaph : TU PETRUS ET PAUL : : : SERVENT PETRE-LEONIS : DENT ANIMA CELO QUOS : TAM DEVOTUS AMASTI : ET SIB ESTE IDEM TUMULUS SIT GLORIA TECUM : (" May Peter and Paul to whom you were ever so faithful protect you, Peter son of Leo and welcome your soul into the glory of Heaven ").

THE BASILICA OF S. LORENZO

The fact of Lorenzo's martyrdom seems to be well-attested, the probable date being August 10th (the Depositio Martyrum gives the 11th), 258. The earliest extant mention of his martyrdom occurs in the writings of S. Ambrose, who speaks of it in his Letters. The Liber Pontificalis[2] says of him : " And after the passion of the blessed Xystus on the third day, Laurence, his archdeacon, suffered also, August 10th, likewise the subdeacon Claudius and Severus the priest and Crescentius the reader and Romanus the door-keeper . . . . The aforesaid blessed Laurence was buried in the Via Tiburtina in a crypt in the Ager Veranus, August 10th."

His Gesta, which are unauthentic and probably date from about 500 or rather later, add many details to this brief account. " When therefore the blessed Archdeacon Laurence heard that the blessed Pope Sixtus had been again taken prisoner he began to address him in these words : ' Whither goest thou without thy son, O Father ? Whither hastenest thou, O holy priest, without thy deacon ? Thou hast never sacrificed, neither hast thou been accustomed to make thy offering without thy minister. What, therefore, in me has displeased thy fatherliness ? Hast thou found me unworthy ? Thou wilt surely have wished to test me, whether I am worthy to be thy servant. To whom hast thou entrusted the consecration of the blood of the Lord ? To whom hast thou committed the fellowship of the partakers in the sacraments ? Wilt thou deny me a share in thy martyr-

[1] Now, alas, painted a weak café-au-lait.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* Sixtus *II.*

dom ? Take heed lest thy judgment be imperilled while thy fortitude is praised ; the abandonment of the disciple is hurtful to the master. Have not many eminent and distinguished men vanquished through the combat of their followers rather than their own ? Hence Abraham sacrificed his son ; Peter sent Stephen on before him ; and thou, O Father, show thy strength in thy son and sacrifice him whom thou hast taught, that secure in thy judgment and noble company, thou shalt reach the crown.' Sixtus the bishop answered him : ' I do sacrifice thee, neither do I abandon thee ; for a yet greater combat for the faith of Christ awaits thee. For those of us who are old are given the way of an easier struggle; but for thee, who art almost a youth, there shall be a more glorious triumph over the tyrant. Thou comest after me ; cease from weeping ; after three days the Levite shall follow the priest . . . . take the possessions of the Church and her treasure and divide them as seems good to you.' And the blessed Sixtus handed over to blessed Laurence all the possessions of the Church . . . .

" Then the soldiers led the blessed Laurence to Decius at the Parthenian Tribunal ; and he was quickly pointed out to Decius as being Laurence, the archdeacon of Sixtus to whom had been given the secret treasures that he might keep them in safety. , Decius rejoiced and ordered that Laurence should be brought before him, and said to him : ' Where are the treasures of the church which we know are hidden in your charge ? ' But blessed Laurence answered him nothing at all. Decius therefore conducted him before the prefect Valerian, saying : ' Inquire diligently concerning the treasure of the church and make him sacrifice. And if he will not, kill him with different torments. Valerian therefore gave him over to Hippolytus . . . ." Laurence, being again taken before Valerian and asked to bring forth the treasures, asks for three days in which to collect them, and this is granted. " Then did blessed Laurence gather together the lame, the poor, the sick, and hid them in the house of Hippolytus. And Valerian announced to Decius that blessed Laurence had been given three days grace and had promised to bring forth the treasure ; after three days, therefore, blessed Laurence appeared at the Sallustian palace and Decius said to him in the presence of Valerian the prefect, ' Where are the treasures you promised to show us ? ' Blessed Laurence having assembled the multitude of poor people, brought them into the palace, saying with a loud voice : ' Behold these are the treasures of eternity which never diminish but always increase ; which are distributed in each of us, but found in all . . . .' "

After trying in vain to force him to sacrifice to the gods,

" Decius said : ' Bear hither a rack of iron and place Laurence on it for his obstinacy.' They brought an iron rack such as is used for a gridiron and extended blessed Laurence on it naked in the presence of Decius and Valerian, and beneath him they placed live coals with forks ; then they squeezed him with the irons and Decius said to him : ' Sacrifice to the gods.' Blessed Laurence answered : ' I will offer a sacrifice to God in the odour of sweetness, for a sacrifice to God is a humble spirit.' Meanwhile the executioners quickly threw coals beneath the gridiron with the forks and squeezed him further with the irons. But blessed Laurence said : ' Learn of me, for your coals bring to me refreshment, but to you eternal punishment ; for the Lord himself knoweth that accused, I have not denied ; questioned, I have confessed Christ ; roasted, I give thanks ! ' The prefect Valerian said : ' Where are the fires with which thou threatenest the gods ? ' Blessed Laurence said : ' O your madness ! Unhappy men, you know not that your coals bring me not heat but coolness.' In truth all that were present marvelled, and Decius ordered that he should be roasted alive. But he with a most composed countenance said : ' I thank Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that thou hast deigned to support me ' ; and lifting his eyes to Decius he said : ' See, wretched man, you have roasted one side ; turn the other and eat ' ; and thanking God he said, ' I thank Thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that I have been made worthy to enter Thy gates,' and so saying, gave up his soul.

" The same night Decius and Valerian went away from the palace of Tiberius, leaving the body of Laurence on the gridiron. Then Hippolytus quickly took it away and at his own charges laid it in spices and linen cloths and informed the priest Justin how blessed Laurence had died on the fire, and how Decius and Valerian had gone away in shame from the palace of Tiberius, and with great brutality had left the holy body on the gridiron over the coals. Therefore the priest Justin and Hippolytus, weeping, and in great sorrow, took his body and bore it to the land of the widow Ciriaca on the Via Tiburtina, to whom the blessed martyr had come by night and had given her the cloth with which he had wiped the feet of the saints. When they had washed the holy body they laid it there till evening. And at the evening hour they buried it in a crypt on the Via Tiburtina on the land of the aforesaid widow Ciriaca in the Ager Veranus on the fifth day of August."

There are some obvious errors in the Gesta. Decius died in 251 and in 258 Valerian was emperor. His edict ordered that deacons should be beheaded and therefore Laurence could not have been burnt. The germ of the legend, says Dufourcq,

comes from the account of the martyrdom of Macedonius, Theodatus and Tatian, who used the words to the judge while being burnt which are here put into the mouth of Laurence.[1]

The widow Ciriaca became in time S. Cyriaca, though such a saint does not appear really to have existed.

Lorenzo's body has never been moved from this spot. It was placed in a new shrine by Sylvester when Constantine's basilica was built, and Pelagius I opened the tomb to admit the body of the proto-martyr Stephen; otherwise the saint has never been disturbed. "Constantine Augustus," says the Liber Pontificalis, "built the basilica of the blessed Lorenzo, the martyr, on the Via Tiburtina in the Ager Veranus over the burial crypt and he made stairs of ascent and descent to the body of the holy martyr Lorenzo."[2]

Cattaneo considers that the building of Constantine stood nearly on a level with the tomb, and that part of the hill and some of the galleries of the Catacomb were cut away to enable him to erect it, and that it was small, with ten large columns, which are probably all that remain of it; the entrance being at a higher level, stairs were required to reach the church. The apse was at the west end.

Duchesne says that an inscription that was seen in the ninth century records the rebuilding of the church by the priest Leopardus in the pontificate of Zozimus (417-18). Cattaneo ignores all alterations of Leopardus, and says that the basilica of Constantine remained as it was till Sixtus III. If Zozimus was buried—as is thought—in one of the niches at the east end, this part must have been left untouched since his day.

Sixtus III (432-40), finding the church too small for the visitors who flocked to it, founded another near by, which was called "basilica maior," to distinguish it from the "basilica ad corpus"; the Liber Pontificalis says that this second church was on the level of the road; the apse was turned to the east, so that the two apses now faced each other.

Pelagius II (578-90) altered the building of Constantine, which seems to have been badly damaged by the Goths, and his constructions must have been extensive, as he is portrayed in the mosaic holding the model of the church in his hands. He probably lengthened it at the west end, placing the two western columns (which are shorter than those of Constantine)

[1] Sozomen V, 11; Socrates III, 15. Professor Marucchi does not agree with Dufourcq, and holds that Lorenzo *was* martyred on a gridiron and gives reasons for his opinion.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* Sylvester. 24. "The description given here is interesting as one of the earliest of a confession and tomb chamber of a martyr and a basilica erected 'ad corpus.'"

and some authorities think that he made an entrance at the east end ; he certainly added the galleries.

Honorius III (1216-27) swept away the two apses, put in six extra columns and made the two churches into one, building the choir above Lorenzo's tomb ; he also built the portico. The decorations were not finished till the reign of Alexander IV (1254-57). Nicholas IV (1447-55) restored the church.

The coup d'oeil as one drives up to the basilica is very charming ; the façade, campanile, trees and the high cemetery wall with its little arches are grouped together in the happiest way.

THE FAÇADE

has a very finely carved cornice of undoubtedly antique work ; there has evidently been more of it than was needed here, as a fragment of the same work is to be seen in the cloister ; below is a row of mosaic and marble disks, and two over the door showing the Lamb of God carrying a cross ; they have their backs turned to each other in rather a quaint way. On the left is a mosaic slab with three tiny half figures, the middle one wearing a crossed nimbus ; on the right is another mosaic with three figures labelled " Lorenzo " with cross and nimbus, " Honor. PP. III " in a mitre, and a small attendant monk. Under this again is a lovely string course of very fine and dainty work.

THE PORTICO

is a " work of the Cosmati "; here are gathered some fine sarcophagi, and the walls are frescoed. A picture on the right of the central door (lowest row, fourth from the door) represents Honorius giving the Holy Eucharist to Pierre de Courtenai, Emperor of Constantinople. Henry, the Latin emperor, having died in 1216, the leaders of the Fourth Crusade chose as his successor his brother-in law, Courtenai Count of Auxerre. He was then in France, and before proceeding to his new realm asked the pope to crown him Emperor of the East. Lest " it should create a precedent through which the eastern emperors might claim jurisdiction over the West," Honorius refused to perform the ceremony in S. Peter's, but consented to do so in the basilica of S. Lorenzo. He afterwards wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople, acknowledging the right of that prelate to crown the Eastern emperor, but stating that, " as the latter had specially desired a papal coronation, the pope had thought fit to grant his request."

THE NAVE

On entering the church we find, on the right, just inside the door, the tomb of Cardinal Fieschi, a magnificent pagan sarcophagus; on the lower part are figures wonderfully carved, at the top there is a band of carving with the chariot of the Dawn mounting at one end and sinking at the other, both figures and horses exquisitely designed and modelled.

The beautiful pavement has been assigned to various dates from the tenth to the thirteenth century.

The columns are of different diameter, but all have the same capitals; most of the shafts and bases belonged to the church of Sixtus, but when Honorius added the extra ones he had all the capitals made to match; two of the bases have wreaths of carving round the foot in a similar style to those in S. Maria in Trastevere, but not such good work.

The open wooden roof and rafters in both parts of the church are very charming, though spoilt in the nave by the brilliant red and blue paint. However, if all the abominable barocco paintings surrounding it were taken away the whole would be most attractive.

The pulpit is by the Cosmati; Perkins says that "their early works, which are remarkable for an organic lightness of structure, an absence of caprice and extravagance of ornament, and a scrupulous subordination of decoration to the architectural unit, are examples of that perfect harmony between the end and the means which has been given as a definition of style. These qualities are conspicuous in the portico and pulpit of S. Lorenzo."

The ambones and paschal candlestick are partly made up of bits from funeral monuments, and possibly from the old schola cantorum of the twelfth century. The candlestick rests on two tiny lions; under them is a finely carved stone put in upside down, showing a tree standing on its head. We will now descend into

THE CONFESSION

Inside the large tomb within the grill of marble and gilt are the remains of Lorenzo and—so it is said—of S. Stephen, the first martyr of the Church. Alban Butler, in his Lives of the Saints gives the following account of the finding of S. Stephen's body, quoting as his authorities S. Austin and others, including the "authentic account of Lucian."

". . . . His body lay long concealed, whilst the glory of his sanctity shone both in heaven and on earth. The very remembrance of the place of his burial had been blotted out from

the minds of men, and his relics lay covered under the ruind of an old tomb, in a place twenty miles from Jerusalem, calles Caphargamala, that is, borough of Gamaliel, where stood a church which was served by a venerable priest named Lucian. In the year 415 in the tenth consulship of Honorius, and the sixth of Theodosius the Younger, on Friday the 3rd December, about nine o'clock at night, Lucian was sleeping in his bed in the baptistery, where he commonly lay in order to guard the sacred vessels of the church. Being half awake, he saw a tall comely old man of venerable aspect with a long white beard, clothed with a white garment edged with small plates of gold marked with crosses and having a gold wand in his hand. This person approached Lucian and calling him twice by his name, bid him go to Jerusalem and tell Bishop John to come and open the tombs in which his remains and those of certain other servants of Christ lay, that through their means God might open to many the gates of his clemency. Lucian asked his name. 'I am,' said he, 'Gamaliel who instructed Paul the Apostle in the law; and on the east side of the monument lies Stephen who was stoned by the Jews without the north gate. His body was left there exposed one day and one night, but was not touched by birds or beasts. I exhorted the faithful to carry it off in the night time, which when they had done, I caused it to be carried secretly to my house in the country, where I celebrated his funeral rites forty days, and then caused his body to be laid in my own tomb to the eastward. Nicodemus, who came to Jesus by night, lieth there in another coffin. He was excommunicated by the Jews for following Christ, and banished out of Jerusalem. Whereupon I received him into my house in the country and there maintained him until the end of his life; after his death, I buried him honourably near Stephen. I likewise buried there my son Abibas who died before me at the age of twenty years. His body is in the third coffin which stands higher up, where I myself was also interred after my death. My wife Ethna and my eldest son Semalias, who were not willing to embrace the faith of Christ, were buried in another ground called Capharsemalia.' Lucian, fearing to pass for an impostor if he was too credulous, prayed, that if the vision was from God he might be favoured with it a second and a third time; and he continued to fast on bread and water. On the Friday following Gamaliel appeared again to him in the same form as before, and commanded him to obey. As emblems of the relics he brought and showed Lucian four baskets, three of gold and one of silver. The golden baskets were full of roses; two of white and one of red roses; the silver basket was full of saffron of a most delicious smell. Lucian asked what these

were. Gamaliel said, 'They are our relics. The red roses represent Stephen who lieth at the entrance of the sepulchre; the second basket, Nicodemus who is near the door; the silver basket represents my son Abibas, who departed this life without stain; his basket is contiguous to mine.' Having said this he disappeared. Lucian then awaked, gave thanks to God, and continued his fasts. In the third week, on the same day and hour, Gamaliel appeared again to him and with threats upbraided him with his neglect, adding that the drought which then afflicted the world would be removed only by his obedience and the discovery of their relics. Lucian being now terrified, promised he would no longer defer it.

After this last vision, he repaired to Jerusalem and laid the whole affair before the Bishop John, who wept for joy and bid him go and search for the relics, which the bishop concluded would be found under a heap of small stones which lay in a field near his church. Lucian said he imagined the same thing, and returning to his borough, summoned the inhabitants to meet next day in the morning, in order to search under the heap of stones. As Lucian was going the following morning to see the place dug up, he was met by Migetius, a monk of pure and holy life, who told him that Gamaliel had appeared to him and bade him inform Lucian that they laboured in vain in that place. 'We were laid there,' said he, 'at the time of our funeral obsequies according to the ancient custom; and that heap of stones was a mark of the mourning of our friends. Search elsewhere, in a place called Debatalia.' 'In effect,' said Migetius, continuing the relation of his vision, 'I found myself of a sudden in the same field, where I saw a neglected ruinous tomb and in it three beds adorned with gold; and in one of them more elevated than the others, lay two men, an old man and a young one, and one in each of the other beds. Lucian having heard Migetius' report, praised God for having another witness of his revelation, and having removed to no purpose the heap of stones, went to the other place. In digging up the earth here, three coffins or chests were found, as above mentioned, whereon were engraved these words in very large characters: Cheliel, Nasuam, Gamaliel, Abibas. The two first are the Syriac names of Stephen or Crowned, and Nicodemus, or Victory of the People. Lucian sent immediately to acquaint the Bishop John with this. He was then at the Council of Diospolis, and taking along with him Eutonius, Bishop of Sebaste, and Eleutherius, Bishop of Jericho, came to the place. Upon the opening of S. Stephen's coffin the earth shook and there came out of the coffin such an agreeable odour, that no one remembered to have ever smelt anything like it.

There was a vast multitude of people assembled in that place, among whom were many persons afflicted with divers distempers, of whom seventy-three recovered their health on the spot. Some were freed from evil spirits, others cured of scrofulous tumours of various kinds, others of fevers, fistulas, the bloody flux, the falling sickness, headaches and pains in the bowels. They kissed the holy relics and then shut them up. The bishop claimed those of S. Stephen for the Church of Jerusalem, of which he had been deacon ; the rest were left at Caphargamala. The proto-martyr's body was reduced to dust, excepting the bones, which were whole, and in their natural situation. The bishop consented to leave a small portion of them at Caphargamala ; the rest were carried in the coffin with singing of psalms and hymns to the church of Sion at Jerusalem. At the time of this translation there fell a great deal of rain, which refreshed the country after a long drought. The translation was performed on the 26th of December, on which day the church hath ever since honoured the memory of S. Stephen, commemorating the discovery of his relics on the 3rd of August, probably on account of the dedication of some church in honour of S. Stephen, perhaps that of Ancona. The history of this miraculous discovery and translation, written by Lucian himself and translated into Latin by Avitus a Spanish priest (native of Braga, then living at Jerusalem, an intimate friend of S. Jerome) is published by the Benedictine monks in the appendix to the seventh tome of the works of S. Austin. This account is also attested by Chrysippus, an eminent and holy priest of the church of Jerusalem (whose virtue is highly commended by the judicious author of the life of S. Euthemius) ; by Idatius and Marcellinus in their chronicles ; by Basil, Bishop of Seleucia, S. Austin, Bede, etc. It is mentioned by most of the historians and in the sermons of the principal Fathers of that age. S. Stephen's body remained in the church of Sion till the Empress Eudocia, wife of Theodosius the Younger, going a second time to Jerusalem in 444, built a stately church to God in his honour, about a furlong from the city, near the spot where he was stoned to death, into which she procured his body to be translated and in which she was buried herself after her death in 461."

Pelagius II had search made to discover exactly where the body of S. Lorenzo was. "When my predecessor of holy memory," writes Gregory I of Pelagius II "was desirous in like manner to make some improvements not far from the body of S. Lorenzo the martyr, it not being known where the venerable body was laid, diggings were made in the course of search and suddenly his sepulchre was unawares disclosed ; and those who

were present, monks and ' mansionarii,' who saw the body of the same martyr, which they did not indeed presume to touch, all died within ten days, so that none might survive who had seen the body of the righteous man."[1]

Returning to the nave we go down a flight of steps into

THE LOWER CHURCH

where still stand the splendid pillars erected by Constantine—large, fluted pillars with Corinthian capitals, probably taken from some older edifice. There are eight in two rows on either side of the Confession and two at the end at the entrance to the narthex ; the two nearest the stairs were, as we have seen, an addition of Pelagius II ; they differ in shape and material from those of the fourth century and have trophies on the capitals.

In this lower church are some interesting inscriptions dating from the consulship of Stilicho, one at the left side of the left flight of steps runs FL. STILICONI VC CONS. PETRONIA QUE VIXIT ANN. P.M. QUINQUAGENTA DUO DEP K. MAR. BENEMERENTI (" Petronia the well-deserving who lived fifty-two years or more and died on the 1st of March, in the consulship of Flavius Stilicho, an eminent man ") ; above is an inscription in the consulship of Septimus Severus.

In the narthex lies His Holiness Pope Pius IX ; the three niches here were at one time said to have been occupied by Zozimus, Hilary and Sixtus III.

Again returning to the upper church we pass into the raised

CHOIR,

which is a very striking piece of building ; its floor comes half way up the pillars of Constantine, which stand in the lower church. Along the tops of their capitals is an entablature made up of pieces of ancient carving, and above this is a gallery with small and lovely varied pillars evidently taken from some antique edifice. Over the

TRIUMPHAL ARCH,

on the side facing the High Altar, are the great mosaics of Pelagius II, partly spoilt by restoration, in which he himself is portrayed holding a model of the church, and his inscription :

[1] Greg. the Gt. *Epis.* IV. xxx (*to Constantina Augusta.*) This seems very hard on the monks and " mansionarii."

DEMOVIT DOMINUS TENEBRAS UT LUCE CREATA
HIS QUONDAM LATEBRIS SIC MODO FULGOR INEST
ANGUSTOS ADITUS VENERABILE CORPUS HABEBAT
HIC UBI NUNC POPULUM LARGIOR AULA CAPIT
ERUTA PLANITIES PATUIT SUB MONTE RECISO
ESTQUE REMOTA GRAVI MOLE RUINA MINAX
PRAESULE PELAGIO MARTYR LAURENTIUS OLIM
TEMPLA SIBI STATUIT TAM PRECIOSA DARI
MIRA FIDES GLADIOS HOSTILES INTER ET IRAS
PONTIFICEM MERITIS HAEC CELEBRASSE SUIS
TU MODO SANCTORUM CUI CRESCERE CONSTAT HONORES
FAC SUB PACE COLI TECTA DICATA TIBI.

" The Lord dispersed the shadows and now since light has been made, splendour dwells in what once were hiding places. The holy body had but narrow approaches where now a larger court receives the people. The ploughed plain lies open beneath the diminished hill; and removed is the heavy mass that threatened destruction.

" In days of old the martyr Laurence through Pelagius the Pope decreed that the most precious temples should be given to himself. His wonderful faith obtained that on account of his merits the pope frequented these temples amid the swords and fury of his enemies.

" Do thou, only, for whom it has been determined that saintly honours should more and more be paid, let the building dedicated to thee be cherished in peace."

The inscription below runs MARTYRIUM FLAMMIS OLIM LEVITA SUBISTI IURE TUIS TEMPLIS LUX BENERANDA REDIT (" Once as a deacon thou sufferedst the flames of martyrdom; by right the venerable light returns to thy temples ").

The upper inscription was re-done in 1860 after a manuscript; the first part refers to Pelagius' work in the upper gallery, ' pierced with many windows which allowed more people to assist at the services held at the tomb; others to the Lombards, who were pushing up to the walls of Rome; the lower one, of course, refers to the (legendary) manner of Lorenzo's death. Over the

HIGH ALTAR

is a ciborium made in 1148, the artists' names and the date being carved on the inside on the lowest bands facing—one, the nave, the other, the bishop's seat. IOHS PETRU ANGLS ET SASSO FILII PAULI MARMORARII HUI OPIS MAGISTRI FUER: ANN D MCXLVIII EGO HUGO HUMILIS ABBAS

HOC OPUS FIERI FECI ("John Peter Angelo and Sasso, sons of Paul, marbleworkers, were the masters of this work. In the year of the Lord, 1148, I, Hugo the humble abbot, caused this work to be done.") The porphyry columns have beautiful carved white bases, very small and dainty; these columns and the transennae of the altar probably belonged to the church of Sixtus, as it is said "Xystus set up the Confession of the blessed Lorenzo the martyr with porphyry columns."[1]

At the end of the choir is a magnificent reredos and episcopal throne in Cosmati work. The internal decorations were finished by Alexander IV in 1254, as is stated in an inscription on the clergy bench; it runs along the top of the back on a fillet on the right side (when facing the throne) and on the end of the bench nearest to it; the letters are very indistinct XPI NASCENTIS IN SECULU VERO MANENTIS ANNUS MILENUS QUINQUAGENUS QUARTUS ET DUCENTENUS "Of Christ born, but enduring for all eternity. In the year 1254").

THE CLOISTERS

which are the oldest of the kind in Rome "were probably made by Clement III" (1187-91) and are very quaint and pretty; brick-work now painted a deep rose-red with little stone pillars arranged in an uncommon way, two single pillars, then two coupled, and so on. On the upper floor are some small arches, showing that there was once a loggia there. In one place of the wall of the monastery is a good string course. In the arcades are many ancient carved fragments, some of very fine workmanship, and a beautiful sarcophagus, with elephants drawing a chariot in relief. From here we enter

THE CATACOMB

which was connected with a pagan cemetery; here are some good pagan paintings and an extremely interesting brick-stamp. Each factory had some special date or mark, and this one is from the "fratricidal ides," i.e., the murder of Julius Caesar. In a niche near the paintings of Hercules and Bacchus, Padre Giuseppe found a coin of the third century B.C. between the teeth of a skull. Charon, who in the Greek mythology ferried souls across the Styx, received an obolus as his fare, and this was carried in the mouth by the dead person. This is the only instance where I have seen a coin so used.

Hilary (461-68) founded this monastery. Passing this we come to the

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Sixtus III. 5.

still called the Campo Verano. It is thought that the south wall of this stands on the old fortifications which once surrounded S. Lorenzo, as is shown by an inscription outside the church, now in the eighth window counting from the apse on the south side: IN NOMINE DOMINI TEMPORIBUS CELESTINI III ET INNOCENTII III ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM DNUS PAULUS ABBAS SANCTI LAURENTII FOROS MUROS FECIT HOC CASTELLUM PER MATTHEUM MONACHUM VIRUM VENERABILEM PRAELATUM SANCTI BENEDICTI ("In the name of the Lord, the lord Paul, Abbot of S. Laurence, made this fortress in the time of Celestine III and Innocent III, Roman Pontiffs, for Matthew, monk and venerable man, a prelate of S. Benedict").

SAN LORENZO IN PANISPERNA[1]

The Gesta of S. Lorenzo give as his place of martyrdom the Olympian Baths, close to the palace of Sallust where now stands S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, which used to be called in Formosa; there, says the Mirabiliana,[2] "S. Laurence was broiled and there is his fat in a crystal and the iron wherewith he was stirred." There are two old pillars and a grilled cell in the crypt; the atrium with trees, high gates and two long flights of steps to the street is attractive.

Far more interesting, however, is

SAN LORENZO IN FONTE

(once S. Hippolytus in Fonte), said to be the house of the gaoler Hippolytus whom Lorenzo baptised; the church itself is negligible, but a door on the right of the façade leads to some steps; here are, first, an ancient cordonata, then a flat corridor both arched overhead; at the end is a tiny cell or widening of the corridor lined with very neat opus reticulatum. A square opening in the wall with a square basin below has a bas-relief (I do not know of what date) representing the baptism of Hippolytus. The place was discovered in 1684.

[1] These two churches are not in the neighbourhood of S. Lorenzo fuori, but as they are connected with his martyrdom I put them here.

[2] I, 13.

CHAPTER XI.

FIVE GREAT BASILICAS (*continued*)

THE FASILICA OF SANTA MARIA MAGGIORE

On this site stood originally the Basilica Siciniana, mentioned by many ancient writers ; whether the church built during the pontificate of Liberius (352-66) was an adaptation of it, or a totally new building, is unknown. Of the Liberian basilica some parts may still exist, but how much is a matter of dispute.

Sixtus III (432-40) must have done a considerable amount of work here as the Liber Pontificalis says that " he built the basilica of the Holy Mary which was called by the ancients the basilica of Liberius."[1]

Eugenius III (1145-53) restored it and built the portico ; and other alterations were effected by Nicholas V, Sixtus IV, and Alexander VI.

It is a very fine church with a good cosmatesque floor and splendid pillars of white Parian marble, which probably date from the Sicinian basilica. Above the capitals of the pillars is an " architrave which stands alone of its kind in Rome, on account of its graceful design, and its mosaic decoration of classical garlands with birds playing between them." Above this are mosaics representing scenes from the Old Testament which Father Hartmann Grisar speaks of as priceless : " most vigorous, and executed in the genuine ancient spirit of beauty and simplicity." Giving among other reasons that the masonry of the walls of the nave differs from that of the apse, he refers both walls and mosaics to Liberius. Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute the latter to Sixtus III and speak of them without enthusiasm and as damaged by time and by restoration. They are too faded to permit of any judgment being passed upon them unless by very long-sighted people.

The wooden roof was made for Alexander VI by Giuliano di San Gallo and it is asserted that it was gilded with the first gold brought back from America by Columbus.

The mosaics of the *Triumphal Arch* date from Sixtus and his inscription SIXTUS EPISCOPUS PLEBI DEI (Sixtus the

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Sixtus III.

bishop to the people of God) is still to be read in the centre. These pictures proclaim the Divine motherhood of Mary, the dogma enunciated by the Council of Ephesus just before the pontificate of Sixtus.

In the *Apse* is a very rich and effective mosaic inscribed—on a label on the left, just above the border over the head of the Madonna in the Annunciation under the pictures of this zone—JACOBUS TORRITI PICTOR HOC OPUS MOSAICEN FECIT (" Jacopo Torrito, painter, did this mosaic work ") and the further inscription MARIA VIRGO ASSUMPTA EST AD AETHEREU THALAMU IN QUO REX REGU STELLATO SEDET SOLIO EXALTATA EST SANCTA DEI GENETRIX SUPER CHOROS ANGELORUM AD COELESTIA REGNA (" The Virgin Mary was assumed into the heavenly dwelling in which the King of Kings is seated in the heavens on his throne. The holy Mother of God has been exalted above the choirs of angels into the celestial kingdom "). Nicholas IV and Cardinal Jacopo Colonna, for whom they were done, are both portrayed therein on the right, small kneeling figures labelled with their names. These mosaics also give rise to much difference of opinion ; Gregorovius speaks of them as the " finest work of all the painting in Rome " which light the apse with a " solemn golden splendour that is more than earthly." Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the other hand, regard gaiety of ornament and richness of colour as their only claims to attention.

Below are some fine reliefs of Mino da Fiesole, which seem to have been made for Cardinal d'Estouteville as part of a ciborium which was broken up in the eighteenth century.

The apse with its brilliant mosaics, its pointed windows surrounded with bands of the same and its bas-reliefs, would—taken in conjunction with the Triumphal Arch in front—be a charming *coup d'oeil,* were it not ruined by the monstrous baldacchino.

The beautiful monument of Cardinal Gonsalvo at the top of the RIGHT AISLE is inscribed : HIC DEPOSITUS FUIT QUONDAM DNS GONSALVUS ALBANEN EPS ANN. DNI.M.CC LXXXXVIIII. and below, HOC OP. FEC. JOHES. MAGRI. COSMA CIVIS ROMANUS (" Here was laid our late lord Gonsalvo, Bishop of Albano in the year of the Lord, 1299. Master John Cosma, Roman citizen, did this work ").

This church was the battleground between Damasus, pope 366-384, and Ursicinus or Ursinus, anti-pope. In 366 Liberius died and ' Damasus, by nationality a Spaniard . . . . occupied the see eighteen years, three months, eleven days . . . . Ursinus was ordained also because of a disunion ; and a council of

priests was held and they appointed Damasus, inasmuch as the multitude was powerful and numerous, and thus Damasus was appointed. And they sent Ursinus from the city . . . . and Damasus abode in the city of Rome as bishop of the Apostolic See."[1] Theodoret speaks highly of this pope. "Damasus," he says, "obtained the presidency of the Church of Rome after Liberius, and was adorned by many virtues"; and again, "a man of most praiseworthy life and by his own choice alike in word and deed a champion of apostolic doctrines."[2] But these virtues were only shown after he was finally seated in the chair of Peter, for he used most equivocal means to settle himself in it. Of the rioting which took place we have both contemporary and almost contemporary accounts on either side.

Sozomen writes, "About this period Liberius died, and Damasus succeeded to the bishopric of Rome. A deacon named Ursinus having obtained some votes in his favour, caused himself to be clandestinely ordained by some bishops of little note, and endeavoured to create a division among the people so as to form separate assemblies. He succeeded in effecting this division and some of the people followed him, while the rest adhered to Damasus. This gave rise to many disputes and much contention, which at length proceeded to murder and bloodshed. The praefect of Rome was obliged to interfere and to punish many of the clergy and people; and he put an end to the usurpation of Ursinus."[3]

Socrates' account is as follows: "Damasus, after Liberius, undertook the administration of the episcopate of Rome; whereupon a great disturbance was caused on the following account. Ursinus, a deacon of that church, had been nominated among others when the election of a bishop took place, and being unable to bear the frustration of his hopes by Damasus being preferred, he held schismatic assemblies apart from the church, and even induced certain bishops of little distinction to ordain him in secret. This ordination which was made, not in a church, but in a retired place called the palace of Sicinius, excited much dissension among the people; their disagreement being, not about any article of faith or heresy, but simply this, who ought to obtain the episcopal chair. Hence

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Damascus. This and the following sentence do not appear in the two earliest abridgments and Duchesne regards them as interpellations. Damasus' election was contested by Ursinus but the deciding factor was not a church council but the civil government, which, after some hesitation, pronounced in favour of Damasus and sentenced Ursinus to exile.

[2] *Eccles. Hist.*, II, xvii; V, ii.

[3] Sozomen VI, xxiii.

frequent conflicts arose, and many of the clergy as well as laity were punished on that account by Maximin the governor of the city."[1]

A petition of two presbyters to the Emperor Theodosius declared that " the doors of the basilica of Liberius were burnt and the roof untiled by Damasus, who marched at the head of his own clergy, grave-diggers, charioteers and hired gladiators ; that none of his own party were killed, but that 160 dead bodies were found " ; while Ammianus impartially condemns them both : " Damasus and Ursinus," he says, " being both immeasurably eager to obtain the bishopric, formed parties and carried on the conflict with great asperity ; the partisans of each carrying their violence to actual battle, in which men were wounded and killed . . . . Ultimately Damasus got the best of the strife by the strenuous efforts of his partisans. It is certain that on one day 137 bodies were found in the basilica of Sicininus, which is a Christian church. And the populace who had been thus roused to a state of ferocity were with great difficulty restored to order."[2]

THE BASILICA OF SAN CLEMENTE

" In the third place from the Apostles, Clement received the episcopate," says Irenaeus ;[3] " he had seen and conversed with the blessed apostles and their preaching was still sounding in his ears, and their tradition was still before his eyes ; and in this he was not alone, for at that time there were many still living whom the apostles had taught." The Liber Pontificalis says that he was consecrated bishop by S. Peter, who " committed to him the government of the see and all the church, saying, ' As unto me was delivered by my Lord Jesus Christ the power to govern and to bind and loose, so I commit it unto thee that thou mayest ordain stewards over divers matters who will carry onward the work of the church and mayst thyself not become engrossed with the cares of the world but mayst strive to give thyself solely to prayer and preaching to the people.' "[4] In the biography of Clement he is said to have

[1] Socrates IV, xxix.

[2] Amm. Mar. XXVII, iii, 12, 13. Ammianus was a contemporary and a very reliable authority.

[3] Iren. *Adv. Haer.* III, iii, 3.

[4] *Lib. Pont.* Peter. Before this passage it is stated that Peter had " ordained two bishops, Linus and Cletus, who in person fulfilled all the service of the priests in the city of Rome . . . . then the blessed Peter gave himself to prayer and preaching, instructing the people." It has been

been bishop " in the time of Galba and Vespasian from the consulship of Tragalus and Valicus (A.D. 68) until the year when Vespasian was consul for the ninth time and Titus was consul with him (A.D. 79). He . . . . was crowned with martyrdom . . . . He by the direction of the blessed Peter undertook the pontifical office of governing the church . . . . Linus and Cletus are recorded before him for the reason that they were ordained bishops also by the chief of the apostles to perform the priestly ministry. He died a martyr in the third year of Trajan. He also was buried in Greece."[1]

S. Jerome[2] says that Clement " was the fourth from Peter as bishop of Rome, if indeed Linus was the second and Anacletus the third ; however, many of the Latins think that Clement was the second after the Apostle Peter." He also says that Clement was the man who was written of by S. Paul in his epistle to the Philippians.[3] Rufinus calls him a martyr,[4] his name is in the Depositio Martyrum and part of an inscription found in his basilica and bearing the word " martyr " was thought by De Rossi to refer to him. His Gesta, fourth century at earliest, say of him that after he had refused to sacrifice to the gods he was exiled by Trajan to the Crimea (Chersonesus Taurica) and there killed.

Before the sixth century the tradition that it was the pope who died there and not some other saint of the same name was firmly rooted in the Crimea. But no early Roman tradition or documents speak of his exile ; and his martyrdom is not mentioned by Irenaeus. Eusebius merely says " In the third year of the emperor mentioned above [Trajan] Clement committed the apostolic government of the Church of Rome to Evaristus and departed this life after he had superintended the teaching of the divine word nine years in all."[5] The fact of his martyrdom, therefore, seems very doubtful.

If he was killed in the Chersonese is he still there ? He was certainly not buried in his basilica at an early date. Jerome says " a church built at Rome preserves the memory of his

suggested that Linus and Cletus died before Peter and that he replaced them by Clement : Duchesne considers that the two former were vicars under Peter and that Clement was his true successor ; and Linus and Cletus are both spoken of as acting under the direction of Peter. The dates given by the Liber Pontificalis do not bear out these ideas but may probably be neglected ; we know that the author of this early part of the book " troubled himself little about dates."

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Clement.

[2] Jerome. *Lives Ill. Men*, XV.

[3] This seems extremely doubtful.

[4] Epilogue to Pamphilius' *Apology for Origen*. written in 397.

[5] *Ch. Hist.* III, xxxiv.

name until this day,"[1] and his tomb is never mentioned in early Christian martyrologies or documents.

It is said that SS. Cyril and Methodius brought his body from the Crimea in the ninth century and buried him in his basilica. There are two legends regarding this, one of which is known as the Italian legend, the other as the Pannonian. The former is also known as the Translatio S. Clementis Papae and is by some authorities thought to be the work of Leo of Ostia who died before 1118, and by others of Gaudericus of Velletri, possibly an eye-witness of the translation. The Pannonian legend is the title given to two works, the Life of Constantine (Cyril), mostly taken from his Acts written by his brother Methodius, and the Life of Methodius, which is not a contemporary document but depends on good sources.

Even if it be granted that the two saints brought back *a* S. Clement, there seems no proof whatever that he was identical with the pope of that name.

A fact connected with him which is accepted practically by all scholars is that he wrote the first epistle to the Corinthians which bears his name, and is " one of the earliest post-biblical works that we have." This was probably written immediately after the persecution of Domitian.[2] Irenaeus says that " in the time of Clement a serious dissension having arisen among the brethren of Corinth, the city of Rome sent a most suitable letter to the Corinthians reconciling them in peace, renewing their faith and proclaiming the doctrine lately received from the apostles."[3] Dionysius of Corinth, who died before 199, says—according to Eusebius[4]—that it was the custom to read it in the churches, and in Jerome's day this, he tells us, was still done in some places.[5]

The church and monastery of San Clemente are among the most interesting things in Rome and cover[6] many monuments belonging to periods two thousand years apart, one above another.

At the lowest level are the remains of a great house which has been called the

[1] *Lives Illus. Men.* XV.
[2] See *Sces. Ear. Hist. Rom. Ch.*
[3] *Adv. Haer.* III. iii, 3.
[4] *Ch. Hist.* IV, xxiii.
[5] Jer. *Lives Illus. Men.* XV.
[6] Anyone desiring to possess a memorial of this fascinating place should buy Father Nolan's book which can be purchased in the sacristy. The Custode Fra Simone knows every detail of the building and is kindness itself in answering questions.

PALACE OF THE TARQUINS[1]

It must, at any rate, go back to the time when the "Servian Wall" was built (see "Walls of Rome"). A part of this building is always shown to visitors, i.e., a magnificent piece of wall built almost entirely of stretchers, most of them forty to fifty-five inches long, with very neat joints and bevilled edges; above is a course of travertine slabs, of which the longest that I was able to measure is nine feet by six inches thick. On one occasion I was able to see more than this, for a slab was raised in the lower church, two ladders lashed together were let down through the hole, and a 100 candle-power light was sent after it and I was invited to descend, with cautions not to fall into the water. There was about a foot of this in the rather small room; on one side ran a part of the great wall spoken of above; the roof consists of brick vaulting built to support the lower church. If S. Jerome alludes to this church rather than to the Domenicum (see below) this vaulting belongs to the early part of the fourth century.

Next in date comes the

DOMENICUM

S. Jerome says "A church built in Rome keeps his memory even to this day"[2] and it seems as if this notice must apply to this chamber. The medal of a slave found here bears the words, "Hold me fast for I am a runaway, and return me to Victor, the acolyte of the Domenicum Clementis." This name "Domenicum" is older than titulus or basilica, and was used during the times of persecution; such of them as were in private houses took the name of their owner, and it seems probable that we have here a part of the dwelling of S. Clement himself, and that the oratory was established here in very early days.

Piers of masonry built to support the building above spoil the appearance of the domenicum; the arched roof has some beautiful stucchi which date from the first or second century A.D. A stone bench runs round the walls.

Next the domenicum is a small room with an opening in the wall looking on to the "Servian Wall," and beyond that a second room with frescoes of the second century presumably also belonging to S. Clement's house; they are very indistinct except one man's figure with a fine head which is fairly visible. Opposite the domenicum is

[1] Some archæologists think it was part of the city wall but this seems to me impossible; the line of the wall was a long way from this church.

[2] *Lives Ill.Men.*, XV.

THE MITHRAEUM

or temple of Mithras, whose places of worship were always below ground, the rites being secret and mystic. Mithras was neither the sun nor the moon nor the stars, but simply the god of light who appeared before the rising of the sun, and gave some, though an undecided light, after sunset. He is often spoken of as a Persian deity, but his cult was very widely spread in the East. M. Cumont[1] says he was adored as early as the fourteenth century B.C. in northern Mesopotamia. He was a rival of the sun-god whom he fought and overcame, after which they made a solemn pact of friendship, and in time the two became identified as is shown by a cuneiform text from the library of Assourbanipal.

It is unknown when or in what country Mithraism took on those characteristics by which it was known in Italy, and during the three centuries in which it flourished in the Roman provinces it naturally underwent some changes. Plutarch[2] speaks of the Cilician pirates in the first century B.C. celebrating "certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithras continue to this day," and they may have been introduced into Italy at the end of the republic, but did not become much talked about there till the first century A.D.

It was a fine religion; Mithras was the god of truth and loyalty, always warring against the powers of darkness, and his cult involved trial and sacrifice; he was held to give his votaries the victory over their enemies, and was essentially the god of armies. Foreign auxiliaries spread the religion among the legions, who brought it home with them, and the army was the principal agent in its diffusion; which, however, was also propagated by merchants and slaves.

At the end of the second century A.D. it was effectively supported by Commodus who was received into the number of the initiated.

In the middle of the third century Mithraism was at its apogee in Rome, and the army believed itself invincible with the help of the invincible god; but soon the barbarians dealt the Empire terrible blows, the Always Victorious was so no longer, and Christianity was pressing him hard. The official power, disliking the rapid spread of the latter, upheld Mithraism with increasing energy. Aurelian had already instituted the State worship of Sol Invictus, regarding him, however, as separate from Mithras. But the two were generally confounded by their worshippers.[3]

[1] On whom I have drawn largely for this section.

[2] *Pompey*.

[3] A dedication to SOLI INVICTO MITHRAE has been found in Ger-

Diocletian, Galerius and Licinius dedicated a temple to Mithras at Carmentium in 307, and under the protection of the sun-god Licinius marched against Constantine. The victory of the latter ruined the hopes of the Mithraists ; the religion became tolerated, then persecuted and in 378 prohibited.[1]

The 25th December had been kept as the birthday of the sun when it recommences its rise for the winter solstice ; " the church consented to see in the sun a symbol of Christ the light of the world, and Christmas has been celebrated on that day at least since the fourth century. In the Philocalian calendar the pagan list gives the day as Natalis Invicti—the birthday of the Invincible—the Depositio Martyrum as Natus Christus in Bethlehem." The devout could not always make these subtle distinctions and inclined towards the sun at the moment of its rising, murmuring " Have mercy upon us." This continued even as late as Leo I (440-461) who said that the practice filled him with grief and vexation.[2]

The Mithraeum of S. Clemente is, I believe, the only one known with the roof intact and the eleven mysterious luminaria ; round the walls run sloping benches on which the participants in their feasts reclined—feasts which were a sort of Eucharist. Tertullian calls them satanic plagiarisms of Christianity.[3] In the middle is an altar representing the Taurobolium—the god sacrificing a bull whose blood fell on the worshipper below.[4] On either side are shown the " Dadophoroi," one with uplifted, one with abased torch ; these represented various things, the rising and setting of the sun, the beginning of spring and end of autumn, and so forth.

In a recess near the entrance is a beautiful bust of Apollo the sun-god.

Leaving the Mithraeum and turning to the right, we can hear the mysterious water which runs under so much of this part of Rome and is presumably fed by springs. We will now ascend to the

LOWER CHURCH,

the apse of which is over the domenicum and projects a little

many of the date (about) A.D. 148. There is an altar in the Capitoline museum (No. 57A) with, on the front panel, a dedication to SOLI INVICTO DEO from one of the equites singulares in A.D.158.

[1] The sacrifice of the taurobolium was performed close to the Vatican as late as 390. Several inscriptions to this effect were found under the chapel of SS. Simon and Jude dating from 305-390.

[2] *Sermon* XXVII, 5.

[3] *De Praescr Heret.*, Ch. xl. Cf. XXII 6.

[4] At S. Clemente there is no pit existing, but there is one in the Mithraeum found in the Baths of Caracalla ; the worshipper in this stood under a grating.

further than that of the newer church above. This was " one of the first Christian basilicas constructed in Rome " and fragments of an inscription of Siricius (394-98) record its restoration.[1] The brickwork of the apse belongs to the time of Constantine ; the pillars of the aisles (several of which are still to be seen) must have come down from some classic buildings ; bits of the ancient pavement remain, and one or two early frescoes. It is unknown at what date and for what reason it was abandoned ; the general opinion seems to be that it suffered in the fire which swept from the Lateran quarter to the Capitol when Robert Guiscard took Rome in 1084 and was so completely destroyed that it seemed better to fill it in with earth and erect a new building above it. During draining below the church, a quantity of charred wood was found mixed with blackened brick and mortar.

If the above theory is correct, the upper church must have been built between 1084 and 1128 when its dedication took place. An inscription in the lower building bears the names of Gregory VI and Nicholas II, both dead before the sack of 1084, while one on the episcopal throne in the apse of the upper church says that the work of building was due to Anastasius, titular cardinal of S. Clemente who died in 1125, and the epitaph of Cardinal Pietro Pisano states that he (Pisano) finished it. As Paschal II was elected pope in a conclave held here in 1099, the upper church must have been sufficiently advanced in that year for the purpose, seeing that the lower one would be unusable.

Many of the fittings of the lower church were not destroyed and were brought upstairs.

In 1857 Father Mullooly of the Irish Dominicans discovered the lower building and commenced the great work of clearing it out.

THE UPPER CHURCH

has been greatly spoilt by late alterations, but is still very attractive. The mosaic of the apse, dating from the twelfth century, is rich and decorative. Here stands the episcopal throne before spoken of, the back of which must have been taken from a tomb as it has MARTYR engraved down it in very large letters. Round the back run the words ANASTASIUS PRESBYTER CARDINALIS HUIS TITULI HOC OPUS CEPIT ET PERFECIT (" Anastasius Cardinal Priest of this title began and finished this work "). On the right is a charming little tabernacle of 1300 given by Cardinal Caetani,

[1] These are on the stairs leading to the upper church.

nephew of Boniface VIII ; at the top, S. Clement presents him to the Madonna.

On the left, just outside the chapel of the Sacrament is the tomb of Cardinal Venerio de Recanati ; the two beautifully carved pillars with pierced capitals are said to have supported the baldacchino of the lower church which was offered by Mercurius, afterwards Pope John II (532-35) ; on one of the capitals are the words (in tiny letters) SERBUS DNI MERCURIUS PB SCE ECCLESIAE CATHOLICAE OFFERT (" Mercurius, servant of God and priest of the holy Catholic Church, offers this ").

Cattaneo says that the ivy-wreathed pillars are certainly Roman, but that the capitals (one of plaited basket-work with doves, the other with acanthus leaves and a cross with a circle) are pure Byzantine ; others think that though the shafts are of antique design, both were carved by the same hand.

The HIGH ALTAR is said to cover the bones not only of Clement but of S. Ignatius. After his death in Rome (see " Coliseum ") the larger bones were gathered together and taken to Antioch ; that city being taken by the Saracens in 637, the relics were brought back and deposited here. The baldacchino dates from about 1100.

The lovely screen of the SCHOLA CANTORUM, the ambones and the paschal candlestick were brought from the lower church. John II, who as Mercurius was titular cardinal of S. Clemente, gave many gifts to the church. An inscription still existing in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli gives the name of the reigning pope as John, surnamed Mercurius, promoted from the parish of S. Clemente to the pontifical glory. He was " bishop in the time of King Athalaric and Justinian Augustus."[1] On one panel of the screen is a monogram which is probably his, and below another close to the floor on the left between the gospel-ambo and the altar are the words, ALTARE TIBI DS SALVO HORMISDAS PAPA MERCURIUS PB CUM SOCIIS OF(ert). (" Mercurius the priest and his companions offer an altar to thee, O God, in the time of Pope Hormisdas.")

The gospel and epistle ambones are on the reverse sides to that which is usual in a church, and there is also—what I believe is almost unique—a lectern ambo.

The mosaic ornamentation was added to all these fittings in the thirteenth century by one of the Cosmati.

The opus sectile pavement of the whole church is a beautiful specimen.

[1] *Lib. Pont.* John II.

The paintings in a chapel at the end of the church once attributed to Masaccio, are now, I believe, given to Masolino.

A delicious head of a marble baby, ancient, but still wearing a broad smile, is now kept in the prior's room.

The atrium of the church is rather picturesque and the propylon is a fine one.

THE BASILICA OF SAN SEBASTIANO

The cemetery here was originally called "ad catacumbas," a word of unknown origin, and here Pope Damasus (366-84) built a basilica "over the Catacombs where lay the bodies of the holy apostles Peter and Paul."[1] "And there he beautified with verses the very marble slab where the holy bodies lay."[2] This church was known as the basilica Apostolorum, and the Platonia[3] was long considered (probably erroneously) to be the spot where they temporarily rested. The inscription, preserved for us by pilgrims, ran "This place, you should know, was once the dwelling of saints; their names you may learn were Peter and likewise Paul. The East sent hither these disciples as freely we confess. For Christ's sake and the merit of His blood they followed Him among the stars, and sought the realms of heaven and the kingdoms of the righteous. Rome was deemed worthy to preserve them as her citizens. May Damasus offer them these verses, new stars, in their praise."[4]

The tomb of Sebastian was not under the High Altar, but on the left side of the church, which did not take his name till the end of the eighth century.

The Gesta of S. Sebastian have been dated by various authorities from the end of the fourth to the sixth century. They state that he was a native of Narbonne, brought up at Milan, and "dear to the Emperors Maximin and Diocletian who gave him command of the first cohort." He was loved and venerated by all and a fervent Christian who made many converts. The praefect having told Diocletian that he suspected Sebastian of being a Christian, the Emperor "calling him, said, 'I have held you always among the foremost in my palace; and thou hast worked secretly against my safety and to the injury of the gods.' Sebastian answered, 'I have always besought

[1] See Basilica of S. Peter.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* Damasus.

[3] The etymology of this word is uncertain.

[4] This translation is quoted from Loomis, "The Book of the Popes," p. 82.

Christ for thy safety, and for the state of the whole Roman world I have always prayed to Him who is in the heavens ; considering that to entreat the help of stones is vanity and madness.' Then Diocletian ordered him to be taken and bound in the midst of the camp, and that they should use him as a target for their arrows." The soldiers set him up in the midst of the camp and shot a great quantity of arrows at him. Then, thinking him dead, they left him ; but Eirene, the mother of one Castulus, went to bury his body, and finding him still alive, took him to her home where he remained till he recovered. Then all the Christians came to him and implored him to fly ; but " when their prayer was made he refused, and straightway on the steps of Heliogabalus he said to the oncoming emperors : ' With wicked subterfuges the priests of the temples had laid siege to the minds of your subjects, suggesting false things concerning the Christians ; saying that they were enemies of the public weal, whereas through their prayers the public weal is strengthened and increased, since they do not cease to pray for your safety and that of the Roman army.' When he had said these and other things, Diocletian said : ' Are you Sebastian whom a little while ago we commanded to be slain with arrows ? ' Sebastian answered : ' The Lord Jesus Christ has deigned to resuscitate me to this ; that I might accost you and bear testimony before all the people that it is by an unjust judgment that your persecution against the servants of Christ has burst forth.' Then, on account of the words he had said, he [the emperor] ordered him to be taken to the phitronium or hippodrome of the palace and there to be beaten to death with clubs ; and thus he gave up his soul. And they took also his body by night and threw it into the Cloaca Maxima lest perchance the Christians should make a martyr of him. Therefore blessed Sebastian appeared in sleep to the holy Lucina and to this most pious matron he said : ' In the cloaca which is close to the circus you will find my body ; when you remove it, take it to the Catacombs and bury me at the entrance of the crypt where are the traces of the apostles.' This the holy Lucina did."

The purification of the army by forcing all soldiers to sacrifice to the gods or to relinquish the service, seems to have been inaugurated by the Caesar Galerius ; the dates given for this by modern authorities vary from 284 to 303. It was probably during this preliminary persecution that Sebastian suffered. The double martyrdom seems to have taken place in the same spot—the stadium on the Palatine—later known as the hippodrome Palatii, which communicated with the palace by a staircase, though it is sometimes thought that his death occurred

at the spot where now stands the church of S. Sebastiano in Palatio (also called S. Maria in Pallare) and that the first building may have been an oratory erected in memory of his martyrdom.

The underground chapel shown as the burial-place of the saint is almost certainly the " initium cryptae " mentioned in the Gesta ; his tomb may have been marked with an altar which was destroyed by the Goths during the sack of Alaric, in 410. During the reign of Innocent I (401-17) two priests erected here a balustrade of marble of which the inscription is in the Lateran Museum[1]: TEMPORIBUS SANCTI INNOCENTI EPISCOPI PROCLINUS ET URSUS PRAESB. TITULI BYZANTI[2] SANCTO MARTYRO SEBASTIANO EX VOTO FECERUNT. (" In the time of the holy bishop Innocent, Proclinus and Ursus, priests of the Byzantine title, made this as an offering to the holy martyr Sebastian.")

According to the Liber Pontificalis, Gregory IV (827-44) brought the body of Sebastian into Rome and laid it in S. Peter's ; by the testimony of four French chroniclers it had already been moved from the Catacomb by Eugenius II (824-27) and taken either whole or in part to the church of S. Medard at Soissons. The first two of these chroniclers are contemporary —one, Einhard, chancellor of Charlemagne, says in his annals under the year 826 that Hilduinus, abbot of the monastery of S. Denis, obtained from Pope Eugenius the bones (ossa) of Sebastian and transported them to Soissons ; the second, Ado of Vienne (the author of the celebrated martyrology) speaks of " part of the body " of the martyr being brought here. The other two are later and less reliable ; Sigebert, a monk of Gembloux, says that " the body " (corpus) of Sebastian was taken to Soissons, and Odile who was possibly a monk of S. Medard in that city, says " the whole body " was transported. But his book is full of inaccuracies and it seems most probable that only a portion of the relics were sent ; Einhard says " bones," Ado " part " of the body, and though Sigebert says " the body," the word corpus was frequently used for a portion only.

As a result of all this we may gather that Soissons received some of the relics, the rest being taken to S. Peter's ; the head was separated and placed in a reliquary by Gregory IV (see below) and taken three years later to the church of SS. Quattro Incoronati by Leo IV (847-55).

In 1218, Honorius III (1216-1227), reconsecrating the altar in the crypt, replaced there that part of the body which had

[1] Number XI, Votive Inscriptions.
[2] The Church of SS. John and Paul.

been in S. Peter's. For this we have as evidence the inscription now lost but given in a brief of Leo X of the year 1517 : " In the year of Our Lord 1218, in the sixth Indiction this altar was dedicated by Pope Honorius . . . .in honour of the blessed martyr Sebastian ; and within are the relics described below—the body of the blessed martyr Sebastian, etc. . . . ."

Cardinal Borghese, nephew of Paul V, brought the altar of Honorius up into the church in the seventeenth century. Sixty years later Cardinal Barberini erected the chapel where we now see the recumbent figure of Sebastian, the work of Antonio Giorgetti, said to be after the design of Bernini, a sensational and most unpleasing work.

The head was duly found in 1624 in its reliquary when Cardinal Millini restored the High Altar of the Santi Quattro. The reliquary bears this inscription : AD DECOREM CAPITIS BEATI SEBASTIANI GREG:IIII. EPS OPT. (" Gregory IV, the chief bishop, in honour of the head of blessed Sebastian.") The reliquary was found in a copper urn with many other relics enclosed, some in cypress boxes, some in alabaster vases. It contained the upper part of a skull and other fragments. Above this copper urn lay two more, divided by marble slabs from the lower ones. In one of these upper ones was a leaden case with " I, Leo, made it " on the lid. The reliquary was left out when the other relics were replaced, and thenceforth kept above one of the altars. In 1913 the head was transferred to an exact copy of the original reliquary, and this original (thought by Professor Munoz to be a seventh century one used by Gregory IV) was taken to the Museo Sacro of the Vatican.[1] It is a kind of bowl with a cover to it.

Extensive excavations are still being carried on under and around the basilica ; it is impossible to describe and explain them without maps, but Fra Damiano Pinna, who is an enthusiast on the subject and has done much excavating with his own hands, is generally to be found in the afternoon. The original tomb of Sebastian is under the chapel where is Giorgetti's statue ; the Platonia, which was long considered to have been the temporary resting-place of SS. Peter and Paul and is now called the tomb of S. Quirinus, is also at a much lower level than the church, as are the Domus Petri, so-called from the words scratched on the wall near the entrance, and a well or reservoir which, it is suggested, may have been used as a baptistery.

There are remains of an ancient villa and some columbarii ; what is called the Triclia, where are many graffiti with the names of Peter and Paul, which probably date from before 313, as

[1] No. 1268.

not one bears the Constantinian monogram which was so prevalent at the peace of the Church. The graffiti are held by some authorities to fix beyond a doubt the fact that the two apostles were at some date buried here.

From this a long staircase leads to the most interesting part of the excavations, three lovely tombs with fronts like little houses. These were probably first pagan and then turned to Christian use, though the question is not yet decided. The tombs contain steps, the first two going back a considerable way and to a depth much below their entrances; the lower parts are usually flooded. The first has some fine first century brickwork by the doorway, and an exquisite growing vine moulded in stucco on the ceiling; while the second ceiling bears a conventional pattern; in the third are paintings of a parrot and a quail that might have been done yesterday.

In one of the excavations near the ancient villa was found a sarcophagus whereon S. Peter is represented as talking to Christ and patting a cock.[1]

About nine miles of the Catacombs have been excavated; they are of good and picturesque construction, but, as far as I know, contain nothing of special interest.

[1] This does not seem a happy idea, and reminds one of the old Scotch-woman who was asked to define tact. After a pause she said that she could not define what it *was*, but could define what it was *not*. "If ye met S. Peter, it would na' be tact to say, 'Cock-a-doodle-do.'"

CHAPTER XII

SOME EARLY CHURCHES

SAN SILVESTRO IN CAPITE

The church and monastery of S. Silvestro in Capite were built by Paul I (757-67) on the site of his paternal mansion. In a bull of June 2nd, 761, he says—after a long preamble—that since the Catacombs, long neglected, had at last been completely ruined by the Lombards, he has taken therefrom the bodies of many saints and has placed them in a church which he has built new from the foundations in their honour, in his paternal mansion—"within the walls of the house which has come to me by way of paternal succession and in which I was born and bred."[1] Here he founded also the monastery of SS. Stephen and Sylvester, where he placed their remains.

The Liber Pontificalis tells the same story: "This most holy pope built a monastery from the foundation in his own house in honour of S. Stephen, the pope and martyr, and also in that of the blessed Sylvester, likewise pope and confessor of Christ. Then building an oratory on the upper floor of the same monastery, he laid the bodies there with great reverence. And within the cloister of the same monastery he made a church, new from the foundations and of wonderful beauty . . . . and there with great affection of veneration he laid the bodies of innumerable saints which he took from the aforesaid demolished cemeteries . . . . And setting up there a congregation of monks, he ordained that it should be a monastery where they should sing psalms in the Greek manner."[2] There were, thus, says Duchesne, two distinct foundations, a church

[1] Bull of Paul I, quoted by Frederici "Il Rejesto del Monastero de S. Silvestro in Capite" in Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol. XXII, p. 213 ff.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* Paul I.

where Paul placed many bodies from the Catacombs, but of whose name we are not informed, and a monastery with an oratory where Stephen and Sylvester were laid and which was called after them. The two were of course closely connected, but still quite distinct. The Liber Pontificalis, for instance, under Leo III (795-816) speaks of a major basilica and an oratory; under Nicholas I (855-75) it talks of the monastery of SS. Stephen and Sylvester and of "the steps leading up to the basilica of S. Dionysius" (S. Denis). It has been said that Stephen (II) III (752-57), brother of Paul I, "began to build a church in honour of S. Dionysius," and if this were so and yet Paul did the greater part of the construction, he would be considered as the founder, the word being used for any extensive building or addition. Stephen is said to have decorated his building "in such a manner as he had seen in France"[1] and it is thought that the saint to whom it was dedicated was S. Denis of Paris and not the pope of that name. After a time the names of the major basilica and the monastery became mixed together, and finally that of S. Sylvester was used for both. The first mention of "in Capite" occurs in a deed of 1194 (see below, chapel of S. John the Baptist).

The monastery was given by Paul to Greek monks, who had fled from the iconoclastic persecution in the East; later on they gradually returned there and were replaced at S. Silvestro by Latin monks. In the tenth century the place was given by Agapetus II to the Benedictine order. In the thirteenth century it was bestowed by Honorius IV on a body of nuns under Margherita Colonna.

The church was considerably altered under Clement VIII (1592-1605) and finished under Innocent XI (1676-89).

The body of S. Sylvester was originally interred in the catacomb of Priscilla, whence, as we have seen, it was brought by Paul I. The Depositio Episcoporum, compiled very shortly after Sylvester's death, gives his festival as December 31st, and this day is still kept by the Roman Church in his honour, and on it his skull is exhibited.[2]

But it is not on account of Sylvester's head that the church is called "in Capite," but because here the head of S. John the Baptist is said to rest, after wanderings sufficiently protrotracted to give rise to some doubt as to the authenticity of the particular relic.

[1] *Chron.* Benedict of Soracte, tenth century. Quoted by Duchesne.

In regard to the veneration shown here to the Baptist, the following suggestion has been made : Among celebrated Roman martyrs was the priest John, killed during the persecution of Diocletian. His body was venerated separately from the head, but both were afterwards brought to this church, which since that date has been called in Capite. The Baptist counted for more than the priest, what so easy as to substitute one for the other ?

To return to S. Sylvester. An inscription relating to him is in the right aisle on the pier nearest the sanctuary, facing the nave. It runs : " The venerable body of S. Sylvester, pope and confessor, translated by Paul I on the nineteenth day of June, 761, with wonderful pomp within the city walls, was placed in this church built by him and dedicated to the same saint ; when on account of its age the church was being restored in the reign of Pope Clement VIII, the above-mentioned body of S. Sylvester was found beneath the High Altar, and in the presence of the clergy and people worthily replaced there ; together with the holy Pontiffs Stephen and Dionysius and other relics of saints, preserved with honour and devotion . . . . From the Apostolic letters of the supreme Pontiffs Paul I and Agapitus II, and also from the inventory and other documents of the curia of the Vicar of the City. In the year 1696. The 9th Indiction."

The following are extracts from a document in the monastery describing the opening of the coffin. It is headed : " Description of the finding of some bodies and relics of saints, discovered in the altars of the church of S. Silvestro in Capite in 1595."

". . . . the High Altar of S. Silvestro was opened, and there was found a body with no name . . . . and then was opened the altar of SS. Paul and Nicholas. And in the said altar was found a lead coffin full of holy bodies and relics . . . . and on November 17th . . . . was opened [in the Confession] a beautiful altar of very fine marble with a piece of holy relics within, and then there was taken away the marble top and there were found four slabs of marble with four thick bars of iron which fixed the said slabs, and beneath the aforesaid stood a coffin of terracotta, and within was the most holy body of S. Sylvester, pope and confessor, quite entire, and the most holy head attached to the neck, where was still to be seen remains of the diadem and shoulder covering [peviale loro et lasetta][1] and

[1] The lorum as may be seen from coins of the later eastern emperors was

the brooches of gold and silver which were adhering to the marble slab beneath the shoulders in the coffin. There were phials of blood with many holy relics scattered in the crypt. And there were found two holy bodies, to wit the body of S, Stephen, pope and martyr, and S. Dionysius, pope and confessor . . . ." The bodies apparently remained in the convent till 1601, when the church was finished and consecrated, for the document continues : " In the year 1601 . . . . on Sunday. the 1st of May . . . . were carried . . . . the holy relics, to wit the bodies of S. Sylvester, pope and confessor, and S. Stephen, pope and martyr, and S. Dionysius, pope and confessor, all three holy bodies entire except that the head of S. Sylvester was left out and part of the head of S. Stephen . . . . and the illustrious Cardinal had made a lead coffin of 400 lb. weight and with his own hands he put them [the relics] into the lead coffin and it was all soldered down and well sealed. And on a leaden plate was written the names of the saints . . . . and the date . . . ."

The chapel of S. John the Baptist is on the left on entering the church. The confession, which is attractive, has been recently re-opened ; here are some pieces of an old wall made of huge blocks and doubtless belonging to one of the series of porticoes which once covered this region.

The very picturesque courtyard " represents the ancient atrium, the portico corresponding to the primitive narthex " ; in the tiny garden is a tall white column, while all around lie fragments of sculpture and carved stone and marble, some of them very fine work.

This monastery had received from Agapitus II (946-55) the guardianship of the column of Marcus Aurelius (which used to be called the Antonine column) and an inscription of 1118 on the right side of the door (when facing the church) relates to it. The particular interest of this column from a religious point of view is the section of the reliefs which relates to the Thundering Legion.[2] It is an " historical fact that in A.D. 174 the Roman army in Hungary was relieved from a very dangerous predicament by the sudden occurrence of a thunderstorm which quenched their thirst and frightened the barbarians, and thus gave the Romans the victory." This was regarded as miraculous, and was attributed by each man to the assistance of that Deity to whom his own prayers had been directed.

a kind of scarf or wide stole worn over the shoulders. It was an imperial and consular garment.

[2] When standing in Piazza Colonna by the fountain, one can see the section on the third band of relief from the bottom ; it is very indistinct.

Tertullian says,[1] " M. Aurelius in his expedition to Germany, by the prayers of the Christian soldiers offered to God, got rain in that well-known thirst." Eusebius wrote[2] " It is reported that Marcus Aurelius Caesar . . . . being about to engage in battle with the Germans and Sarmatians, was in great trouble on account of his army suffering from thirst. But the soldiers of the Melitene legion, through the faith which has given strength from that time till the present, when they were drawn up before the enemy, kneeled on the ground, as is our custom in prayer, and engaged in supplications to God. This was indeed a strange sight to the enemy, but it is reported that a stranger thing immediately followed. The lightning drove the enemy to flight and destruction, but a shower refreshed the army of those who had called on God, all of whom had been on the point of perishing of thirst. This story is related by non-Christian writers who have been pleased to treat the times referred to, and it has also been recorded by our own people. By those historians, who were strangers to the faith, the marvel is mentioned, but it is not acknowledged as an answer to our prayers. But by our own people as friends of the truth, the occurrence is related in a simple and artless manner. Among these is Apollinarius, who says that from that time the legion through whose prayers the wonder took place, received from the emperor a title appropriate to the event, being called in the language of the Romans, the Thundering Legion. Tertullian is a trustworthy witness of these things." With regard to this, it has been pointed out that at that time it is inconceivable that there should have been a whole legion of Christian soldiers ; that Apollinarius (who was bishop of Hieropolis) is mistaken about the name or else Eusebius has misquoted him, for the Legion was called " Fulminata " (Thundering) from the time of Augustus according to Dio[3] but at any rate from that, of Nero, as is testified by an inscription of his eleventh year. But as Apollinarius was a contemporary and lived in Asia Minor where the Legion had its winter quarters, it is unlikely that he made an error and possibly he may have written some such words as " now the emperor could with truth call this legion the thundering Legion."

The pagans looked at it from another point of view. Dio says:[4] " For when they had been shut in by the Quadri in a convenient place such that though fighting fiercely they would

[1] *Ad. Scap.* IV.
[2] *Ch. Hist.* V, v, 1-5.
[3] *Rom. Hist.* LV, 23.
[4] Ibid. LXXI, 8-10. Excerpt by Xippilinus, hence the latter part of the quotation expresses Xippilinus' own opinion.

yet be destroyed, the barbarians put off the battle hoping that they might perish from heat and thirst since, as they had occupied all the surrounding places and shut them in (for they were in greatly superior numbers) they had no means of getting water ; and that thus the Romans would fall into such difficulties that being afflicted with wounds, disease, thirst, and the heat of the sun they would neither be able to fight nor retire elsewhere, but standing in line of battle, drawn up in that place, they would be annihilated. But on a sudden, many clouds collected and a great rain fell, not without the help of God. The story goes that Arnulphen an Egyptian magician who was with Marcus had invoked by his magic arts that Mercury, who is in the air, and other spirits, and through them had obtained rain. These things indeed are told by Dio, but it seems to me that he lies either willingly or unwillingly, I know not, but judge rather that it was willingly, since he was not unaware of the legion of soldiers that was called the Thundering as its special name (for he makes mention of it in enumerating the rest) and that it was for no other cause than that which befell in this war that they received the name ; and were the cause of safety to the Romans and defeat to the barbarians ; not that magician Arnulphen, since nowhere is it related that Marcus delighted in the society of magicians or in jugglers' tricks. What, therefore, I declare to have been the truth of this matter is this : Since Marcus had one legion of Militene soldiers (who all worshipped Christ) there came to him the praefect of the Praetorians, not knowing what plan to make for this battle and fearing for the whole army, and said to him that there was nothing that those who were called Christians could not obtain by their prayers and that there was an entire legion in the army of men of this kind. When they [the legion] heard this, they besought Marcus that they might petition their God. When this was done, God answered immediately, and the enemy was struck by lightning, whereas the Romans were refreshed with rain. Marcus being absolutely astounded at these occurrences, bestowed an honourable proclamation on the Christians, and on that legion the name of ' Thundering ' ; a letter of Marcus' which is still extant, speaks of these things."

The writer of the life of Marcus Aurelius in the Scriptores Historiae Augustae[1] thought it was the emperor's prayers that " summoned a thunderbolt from heaven against a war-engine of the enemy and successfully brought rain for his men when they were suffering from thirst."

At any rate, when the column was raised, the honour was given to Jupiter Pluvius who is depicted with rain pouring

[1] *Script. Hist. Aug*, M. Aurelius, XXIV.

from his widely spread arms, while the soldiers below are catching the water in their bucklers and drinking from pools on the ground.

THE CHURCH OF SANTA PUDENZIANA

Tradition designates this as the oldest church in Rome. De Rossi held that it was the home of that Pudens who received Peter into his house and who is mentioned by S. Paul[1]; that here took place frequent meetings of the early Christians that here subsequently was dedicated a baptismal font or private oratory. Some authorities think that the church of S. Prassede rather than that of S. Pudenziana covers the house of Pudens and that the latter occupies the site of the baths of Novatus and Timothy.[2] The excavations beneath our church have shown traces of a specus for bringing water. There is an early allusion to the Baths in the Acts of Justin Martyr. Being asked, "Where do your meetings take place? And where do you assemble your disciples?" He replied, "I have lived up to this day near the house of one called Martin, beside the baths of Timothy. This is the second time that I have come to Rome and I know no other dwelling save this." Professor Marucchi thinks it probable that both churches were founded on property belonging to the family, though they cannot have formed part of the same building, as a very old street, the Vicus Patricius runs between them[3]; this is marked on the plan of Rome. Festus says of it: ". . . . The Vicus Patricius is at Rome the name of that street where the patricians lived by command of Servius Tullius, so that if any of them should strive against himself he might overwhelm them from above."[4]

Pius I (142-157 ?) is said to have been the founder of our church which was occasionally termed Titulus Pastoris after the pope's brother, and also Titulus Pudentis; after the fourth century it was known as Ecclesia Pudentiana and this was later on changed by the ignorant into Santa Pudenziana. The building was restored by Siricius (384-98); in the left aisle are two fragments of an inscription SALVO SIRICIO EPISCOPO ECCLESIAE SANCTAE on one, ILICI LEOPARDO on the other. The earliest known mention of the church is in an inscription of 384 which was copied in the sixteenth century.

[1] II Tim. IV, 21.

[2] Novatus, Timotheus, Pudenziana and Prassede are said to have been the children of Pudens.

[3] It corresponded to the Via Urbana.

[4] Festus, 212.

" Here lies Leopardus of wonderful innocence and distinguished goodness, a lector of S. Pudenziana, who lived twenty-three years and died on October 24th in the consulate of Nicomedes and Clearcus."

In this aisle is a bit of ancient pavement and also a well. I have been gravely informed that in this well Pudenziana and Prassede collected the bodies of several thousand martyrs slain during the persecution of Nero ; no allusion was made to the question of space.

To the time of Siricius belongs the mosaic of the apse, among the oldest and quite the most beautiful in Rome. The figure of Christ in his golden robe is magnificent : " the tunic, mantle and sandals which he wears are Roman, his face is regular, and but for the large nimbus which surrounds his head . . . . we should liken him to an antique Jupiter in one of the grand movements which even the artists of the decline were able to produce." In his hand is a book on the open page of which is written DOMINUS CONSERVATOR ECCLESIAE PUDENTIANAE (The Lord, the preserver of the church of Pudens). These priceless mosaics, finished under Innocent I (402-417) were mutilated by Cardinal Caetani in the sixteenth century, the lower part being entirely destroyed.[1] He also " embedded " the pillars of the nave in piers, i.e., the pillars show on the fronts of his hideous constructions.

From the left aisle a door opens on to rather a picturesque corner with flying buttresses of brick, a high wall and some greenery and steps by which we descend to the subterranean house, which is very carefully built of brick " in the style of the first century." Only partial excavations have been performed and the way down is *extremely* steep, and in wet weather, when rain has percolated in, the slipperiness is quite dangerous. In one spot is a piece of pavement which belonged to the early house and baths, and at a slightly higher level one which is considered to have been that of the primitive oratory.

In another place is a fresco with three figures labelled Peter, Pudenziana and Prassede.

Cardinal Bonaparte in recent days disfigured the façade with paintings which are already peeling off and which would be much better removed. Otherwise the façade is beautiful and has some wonderful carving.

The *coup d'oeil* from the street is most charming , the black and white marble balustrade at the entrance with iron gates leads on to long curved flights of steps which descend to a tiny court with—facing one—the beautiful façade ; on one side the

[1] I believe a drawing of the whole is preserved in the Vatican but I have not seen it.

black and white wall of the custode's house is broken by a window with flowers on the sill; behind is a great tree,[1] and towering over all is the attractive campanile erected by Innocent II (1130-1143).

THE CHURCH OF SANTA PRASSEDE

The first mention of this church[2] occurs in an inscription of 491 which speaks of the priests of the "TItuli pRAXSedis," and is, I believe, in the catacomb of Hippolytus; it is also referred to in the acts of the council held under Symmachus in 499. In the ninth century it was rebuilt by Paschal I (817-824). The Liber Pontificalis[3] says the church of the "holy martyr of Christ Prassede, built in the earliest times, had become decayed through age so that it was threatened with ruin to its foundations, and the same venerable pontiff forseeing its downfall and having care for the same church . . . . moved it to another place not far off and erected it again better than it had been before. And he decorated the apse of the selfsame church with a mosaic work in different colours suitably disposed; in the same way he adorned the triumphal arch with similar metal, completed in a marvellous manner. And this most blessed and eminent pontiff, seeing that many bodies of the saints were lying in the overthrown cemeteries, lest they should remain neglected, with pious solicitude he sought them out, and when found he brought them together with great affection and veneration in the church of the aforesaid blessed martyr of Christ Prassede which he had built, renewing it in a wonderful manner, and summoning all the people of Rome, with all the bishops, priests, deacons and clerks singing praise to God and carrying them thither, he relaid them there . . . . And he built in the same place a monastery which was called by the name of the holy virgin Prassede; in which he gathered togther a holy company of Greeks and introduced the practice that they should day and night in that very place

[1] Now, alas, gone. The custode is hardly ever to be reached even by furious ringing of the bell, but he can be generally found by going to the back of his house, No. 27, Via Balbo. Being an old friend of mine he takes me to the church through his dwelling which is a most extraordinary and, I imagine, very ancient structure.

[2] For its foundation see S. Pudenziana. At one time the atrium in front used to be reached by a flight of steps from the Suburra, but this entrance is now closed, a door in the right aisle being exclusively used.

[3] *Lib. Pont.*, Paschal I, 8-19.

with chants and Greek psalmody continually pay their vows of praise to God and to those saints resting here . . . . And in the same church he made the oratory of blessed Zeno the martyr of Christ, and there where he placed his holy body, he adorned it handsomely with mosaic."

The mosaic in the apse is of very inferior workmanship but is interesting as giving a contemporary portrait of Paschal; the face is not quite the same as that in S. Cecilia, being broader in the jaw. The inscription below runs:

EMICAT AULA PIA VARIIS METALLIS
PONTIFICIS SUMMI STUDIO PASCHALIS ALUMNI
PLURIMA SCORUM SUBTER HAEC MOENIA PONIT
PRAXEDIS DOMINO SUPER AETHRA PLACENTIS HONORE
SEDIS APOSTOLICAE PASSIM QUI CORPORA CUDENS
FRETUS UT HIS LIMEN MEREATUR ADIRE POLORUM.

"This holy court gleams with many coloured metal by the zeal of the disciple of Paschal the most high pontiff, who, burying many bodies of saints in every direction, placed beneath these walls the body of S. Prassede, pleasing to the Lord above the sky, in honour of the Apostolic throne; relying on these, that he may merit to approach the threshold of heaven."

The martyr shown in this mosaic and that of the triumphal arch are an evident allusion to the bodies buried below. Marucchi thinks that the columns and architrave—formed of pieces taken from ancient buildings—are anterior to Paschal and in their original position; but this cannot be so if the Liber Pontificalis is right in saying that "he moved the church to another place." The building was restored by San Carlo Borromeo (titular cardinal in the sixteenth century), and again in the eighteenth century. A peculiarity of this church is the surprisingly small space between the tribune and the triumphal arch.

The floor is a fine example of Cosmatesque work. Under the High Altar is a small *confession* with four fine old sarcophagi, the lower one on the right containing—so one is informed—the bodies of SS. Prassede and Pudenziana, and here also is the altar of the twelfth century which used to be in the church above.[1] The names of the martyrs whose bodies were removed from the Catacombs by Paschal are on the pier nearly opposite the chapel of S. Zeno on the side facing the High Altar. "In the name of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and in the time of the most holy and thrice blessed and apostolic lord Pope Paschal, were brought to this holy and venerated basilica

[1] These popes are not in order of date. Urban and Lucius were afterwards taken to S. Cecilia.

of the blessed virgin of Christ Prassede the venerable bodies of the saints which, having been scattered from the cemeteries and crypts where they were lying, the aforesaid Pontiff bringing them hither, buried them with the greatest care and with his own hands under this most holy altar on the 20th day of the month of July . . . . in the tenth indiction. The name in truth of the popes are these: Urban, Stephen, Anteros, Meltiades, Fabian[2], Julius, Pontianus, Siricius, Lucius, Xystus, Felix . . ." Then follows a long list of saints, including Prassede and Pudenziana.

THE CHAPEL OF S. ZENO,

just referred to, is most attractive; the entrance is closed by wrought iron gates, the jambs being enriched with Byzantine enlacements; at each side is a pillar of precious marble (the two differing in size); their bases and the heavily carved cornice having evidently come from some pagan building; the ends of the latter have been touched up by a later and very inferior chisel. Above the door is a window framed by two rows of mosaic heads, rudely executed, representing in the outer row Christ and the Apostles, and in the inner one the Virgin and various saints. The urn standing on the cornice is pagan; on the lower part of the latter has been carved and filled in with red PASCHALIS PRAESULIS OPUS DECOR. FULGET IN AULA QUOD PIA OPTULIT VOTA STUDUIT REDDERE DO. PSCAL. "The beautiful work of Paschal the Pontiff shines in this court, since the lord Paschal offered his pious gifts and strove to restore it (the court, i.e., the church)." This gate being always shut, one enters the "Garden of Paradise" by the ante-chapel where there is a fine tomb of Cardinal Ancher, 1286. This name of "Garden of Paradise" was given to the oratory of S. Zeno on account of its beauty. The vaulted ceiling is supported by four columns, the bases of which are different, the one on the right of the altar being a very rich and beautiful piece of Roman work, though the bottom of it is, I think, by a different and much later hand. As regards the mosaic of the ceiling, very different opinions are expressed. Cattaneo calls them "precious," Gregorovius thinks them "more barbarous than those of the Tribune," while Crowe and Cavalcaselle say that "design and other qualities which art should comprise are altogether wanting," and that it is only the richness and splendour that we can admire. The decorative effect is certainly excellent.

The pavement is a very old example of opus sectile, "a

[1] Two small columns of the ciborium of this altar are now in the left aisle, to the left of the main entrance (with one's back to the door).

system probably imported by the Greeks in the eighth century, and which finally almost superseded 'opus vermiculatum.'"

Over the altar is a rather sweet mosaic of the Virgin and Child with SS. Prassede and Pudentiana, probably earlier than the reign of Paschal.

The column called "of the flagellation" is encased in glass under a gilt baldacchino and is said to have been brought from Jerusalem by Cardinal Giovanni Colonna in 1223.

THE CHURCH OF SAN MARTINO AI MONTI

The name of S. Martino ai Monti covers buildings of various dates. Near the Baths of Trajan one Equitus had a house, and in this he erected in the time of Pope Sylvester (314-35) a church[1] reckoned among the earliest Christian places of worship in Rome and known as the Titulus Equitii or Silvestri. Such of the decorations as were not idolatrous were permitted to remain; fragments of tesselated pavements, part of a pierced marble window (still *in situ* in the cortile) belong to the fourth century; some large tufa blocks go back much further, as they come from the "Servian Wall," which passed near by.

Symmachus (498-514) built a new church adjoining the old one, but higher up the hill, making, to connect the two, a stairway curling round a pillar in the south wall of the old Titulus[2]; this church he dedicated to S. Martin of Tours and the two united formed the "Basilica SS. Silvestri et Martini"[3]; as the dedication was not effected till 500, the name of Titulus Equitii is used in a document relating to the synod of Italian bishops held under Symmachus in 499.

During the Middle Ages this church claimed to contain the body of S. Silvester, and his name is mentioned in the list of relics on the right-hand (when descending) of the staircase to the confession;[4] but there is no contemporary evidence of this, and Paul I in his bull distinctly says that he placed the body in S. Silvestro in Capite. Nevertheless the so-called shrine of the pope was much frequented, principally on account of a great council which he was said to have held here; the documents of the sixth century which relate this are, however, apocryphal. Sergius II (844-47) restored and perhaps rebuilt the upper church and placed relics of the saints in the Confession, as related in the list referred to above.

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Sylvester.
[2] This is now blocked up.
[3] *Lib. Pont.* Symmachus, 9.
[4] Opposite this is an Italian translation.

Great alterations were made in the seventeenth century, and the beautiful stucchi in the very graceful semi-circular confession, and the picturesque curved stairway with round-arched roof leading to the Titulus date from this period.

I have not been able to inspect the tiles in the roof, but understand that a large number of them come from the time of Theodoric the Great (493-526) and are stamped REGNANTE DOMINO NOSTRO THEODORICO FELIX ROMA, or sometimes BONA ROMA.[1]

The external view of the apse is very striking; it has a cornice with masks and corbels alternating, and a long flight of steps leads down to the piazza, where are two brick towers; the foundations of this end of the church are partly constructed of great blocks, evidently, like those in the cortile of the Titulus Equitii, from the "Wall of Servius."

THE BASILICA OF SANT' AGNESE

It is difficult to say who founded this church; the Liber Pontificalis[2] states that Constantine the Great "built the basilica of the holy martyr Agnes at the request of Constantia, his daughter, and a baptistery in the same place where both his sister Constantia" and his daughter were baptised. The female relations of the emperor are very bewildering. It will be seen that by the Liber Pontificalis both his sister and his daughter are called Constantia, and the latter (the wife of Gallus) is so named by Sozomen[3] and Philostorgius,[4] but Ammianus Marcellinus calls her Constantina (see S. Costanza). It is possible that the Liber Pontificalis is mixing up a relation of Constantine with the pious matron to whom the building is ascribed in an inscription now lost, but which existed in the apse prior to the restoration of the church in the seventh century, and the first part of which ran:

> "Constantina, venerating God and dedicated to Christ,
> Having with devout mind made all things ready at great cost,
> And all to the Divine honour, Christ helping her,
> Dedicated a church to the victorious virgin Agnes,
> A work which surpassed all others in the world."

[1] Commendatore Lanciani says he has never excavated on the site of any of the great buildings of Rome without finding one or more of Theodoric's bricks.

[2] *Lib. Pont.*, Sylvester, 23.

[3] Sozomen. *Eccles. Hist.* II, v.

[4] Philostorgius. *Eccles. Hist.* III, 22 and 28.

Of the work of the earliest builder, probably nothing remains but what is beneath the altar (see below—Catacombs of S. Agnese). Symmachus (498-514) restored the church and it was rebuilt by Honorius I (628-38) and still remains essentially the same and " the finest memorial of his reign." Some new work was done here in the seventeenth century and again under Pius IX.

The Acts of S. Agnes, which are apocryphal, were probably written in the sixth century by someone called Ambrose, who states that he " consulted documents." The body of S. Agnes after her martyrdom is said to have been buried by her parents in a cemetery which already existed on their own property on the Via Nomentana ; the Depositio Martyrum mentions her tomb here. When the basilica was built over her it was on a level with the second storey of the Catacomb, several galleries of which were then demolished ; this accounts for the position of the church at the bottom of a hollow ; it is reached by a flight of very wide steps. Near the top of these are some pagan inscriptions of the first or early second century, while lower down on the right is an inscription of Pope Damasus, summing up the acts of the martyr ; on the other side remains of the old altar.

The interior of the church is very pleasing ; the beautiful columns—evidently spoils of some earlier building—are in two rows one above the other, thus forming a wide gallery (sometimes called the upper church) at both sides and the south-east end (the church is wrongly oriented). The lower row at this end were once separated from the nave as a narthex.[1]

The modern high altar occupies the place of the old one, and the statue standing on it is of a rare kind of alabaster, the replica of one found at Herculaneum. Only the head dates from the time of Paul V, who placed it here. Near it stands one of the fine candlesticks which were originally in S. Costanza.

The apse mosaics, which are attributed to Honorius, represent the Saint between Symmachus and Honorius, the latter offering her a model of the church ; the cubes are ill-joined and the figures most unpleasing, while Agnese herself is portrayed as an elderly woman instead of as a very young girl, which she is called in the accounts of her martyrdom.

The second chapel on the right has a beautiful mosaic altar and dorsal with figures of SS. Stephen and Laurence, dated 1490, but the sculptor is unknown.

[1] In the East the narthex was outside the basilica, but in Rome it was simply screened off.

THE CATACOMB OF SANT' AGNESE

This is generally regarded as very dull, and the round usually shown to visitors is so ; but outside this there is much of interest. Don Luigi Raggi, one of the Canons Regular of the Lateran to whom the church belongs, knows the Catacomb intimately. I have had many an interesting afternoon there with him.[1] The galleries here are generally low and extraordinarily narrow, and the construction is very poor ; many loculi are still intact, many have no inscription, while others are singular from having a sign of a craft or trade, i.e., a trowel, a pair of scales, and in one case a ham !

Descending near the apse, we find beneath it the old apse of Symmachus (498-514) and perhaps even of the original church, though in the latter case it must have been reconstructed, because an epitaph of 490 was found among the materials used. A semi-circular passage, which is not high enough to stand upright in, runs round the foundations of the present apse, and from it a tunnel, perhaps two feet square, runs towards the old apse. I have managed to get down this, but could see nothing but rather modern-looking brickwork. Cardinal Sfondrato found the Saint's body here in 1605, and Paul V placed it in a silver coffin and replaced it under the altar, where it was seen in 1901. The coffin, of solid silver, measures six feet long ; on the top are palm branches interlaced with the names of SS. Agnese and Emerenziana. " Paul V, 1605."

Not far from the apse is a graffito of S. Peter which dates probably from the third century, and near this is a child's grave : " Marciana lived two years, eight days," with a relief of the Good Shepherd in putties and without a lamb on his shoulder ; we then come to a crypt with little pillars cut in the rock, an interesting graffito of a fossor at his work, and an excellent one, over an arcosolium tomb, of a boy, roughly done yet lifelike ; beside it is the inscription : " Dativa still living made this for her son who lived fifteen years." The lettering is rather bad.

A little further on is a specimen of gilded glass. These glasses found in the Catacombs are evidently the bottoms of drinking cups ; gold leaf has been used to decorate a piece of glass, then covered with another piece, the two being welded together by fire : " They were stuck into the soft cement of the newly-closed grave, and the double glass bottom, embedded in the plaster, has resisted the action of time, while the thinner portion of the cup, exposed to accident and decay has, in almost every instance, perished." The one in question represents a man's head and is, says Armellini, a fine pecimen, dating probably

[1] I much regret to find that Don Luigi has now left Rome.

from the end of the third century, and it is the only one found *in situ* in a surburban cemetery. Some distance from this is the mosaic portrait of a woman, with a blue margin, thought by the style and paleography of the inscription to date from the second century. The lettering is very fine and the inscription is from Marcus Aurelius Victor to his wife Ulpia Sirica. It is attached to one of a group of sepulchres of very early date which are in an arenaria or sand quarry ; this had an entrance of its own and was united to the main Catacomb only at the end of the third century. The loculi are for the most part closed with tiles of the very best quality.

In a part of the cemetery not far from here are some second century inscriptions painted on tegulae in both black and red letters, finely executed.

Returning to the church, we again reach the Catacomb through S. Costanza (see below), there being no communication below ground between these two parts. Our object in coming here is to see the chapels of the college of " Peanists " ; these are three small chambers one above another ; one enters the second by a tiny flight of very steep steps running up the side of the first [1] ; in the floor of this second chapel is a small piece of mosaic pavement and a hole once filled with a marble grill, the remains of which are in a niche of the corridor close to the entrance of the lower room. In this latter are the remains of a tablet which refers to the Emperor Septimus Severus, probably a charter granting privileges to the college. The peanists were adorers of Apollo who took their name from the hymn " paena " which they sang in honour of the sun. Fragments of other inscriptions were found here showing that these three chapels belonged to the college, but they were removed in the eighteenth century. Don Luigi thought these chapels had been used as tombs as there are bones in the lower one. The upper chamber is quite destroyed.

THE CHURCH OF SANTA COSTANZA

This circular building was thought at one time—on the strength of the mosaics representing the vintage—to have been

[1] These are sometimes extremely slippery, and the first time I went there I fell down them. As Don Luigi remarked at a subsequent visit : " I have often thought of the Signora's fall ; I wished to give her a hand, but she fell with such surprising suddenness and cascaded down the stairs," which most graphically described my performance.

a temple to Bacchus, but it was never a pagan building ; nor was it—at any rate primarily—built as a baptistery, as stated by the Liber Pontificalis, though it was probably also used for this purpose, and excavations have shown traces of the great central basin ; the building was erected as a mausoleum, the burial-place of Constantina and afterwards of Helen, both daughters of Constantine the Great. The former was wedded, first to Hannibalianus[1] and then to Caesar Gallus, both nephews of her father ; the latter to Julian, brother of Gallus. The mausoleum was built by Gallus for his wife in A.D. 360, and later on Julian, says one of his life-guards, sent the body of Helena to be buried in the suburbs on the road to Nomentana, where also Constantina his sister-in-law, the wife of Gallus had been buried.[2]

Hannibalianus had a territory—consisting of Pontus, Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia—assigned to him in 335 with the title "Rex regum." He was then a vassal king and was alone " in the whole series of Roman princes in any age of the Empire " in being so designated ; but it must be remembered that the title was held by him " not as a Roman prince but as a ruler of an Asiatic territory."

The Acts of S. Agnese represent Constantina as a holy virgin, and she became honoured as S. Costanza ; but not only had she been twice married, she was also far removed from saintly ways, and Ammianus Marcellinus, after speaking of the " manifold and terrible atrocities of Caesar Gallus . . . . who exceeded all the legitimate bounds of the power conferred on him," goes on, " his wife added fuel to his natural ferocity ; she was an incarnate fury, never weary of inflaming his savage temper, thirsting for human blood as insatiably as her husband."[3]

The main structure and decorations are those of the fourth century, and are charming ; a most effective double row of coupled pillars support a domed roof, and outside the pillars is an ambulatory with an arched ceiling and semi-circular niches all round and four larger recesses. The mosaics in this ceiling are among the earliest in Rome and are in a marvellous state of preservation ; they represent different phases of the vintage, children playing musical instruments, genii sporting among the vines, and doves drinking from a large bowl (" pigeons drinking from a bucket," as I heard it described by a custode) ; all are exquisitely done and as fresh as if they were just finished. The mosaics in two of the recesses are said to be of the same date,

[1] Am. Mar. XIV, i, 1, 2 and other writers call him by this name.
[2] Am. Mar. XXI, i, 5.
[3] *Ibid*, XIV, i, 1, 2.

but are most inferior ; they have also been a good deal restored. The great porphyry sarcophagus now in the Vatican (opposite that called of Helena mother of Constantine) came from this mausoleum, as did also the great candelabras, of which one is in S. Agnese and two in the Vatican.

CHAPTER XIII

SOME EARLY CHURCHES.—*Continued*

THE BASILICA OF SAN PIETRO IN VINCOLI

This church seems to have been in existence at a very early date. From the name of Basilica Eudoxiana[1] it came to be attributed to Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III (425-55), who is said to have founded it to hold the chains with which " Herod bound Peter " (see below), but in reality she and Sixtus III (432-40) seem merely to have restored it. It was called " Basilica Apostolorum " at the Council of Ephesus in 432, and again at the council of 499 ; but in the sixth century it took the name of " ad vincula," and is so spoken of by the Liber Pontificalis in the life of Symmachus (498-514) and by an inscription of the deacon Severus (see below).

After suffering at the hands of Totila's Goths it was repaired by Pelagius I (555-65), who was in charge of Rome during the absence of Pope Vigilius in 546, when the king entered the city. It was again restored by Adrian I (772-95) and decorated by Sixtus IV (1471-84) and Julius II (1503-13), titular cardinal, whose monument by Michaelangelo and his pupils is here, though he himself rests in S. Peter's.

The church still keeps the form of that of Sixtus III ; it has very narrow aisles and an enormously wide nave, enormously wide, that is to say, in proportion to the aisles ; the magnificent white marble fluted columns—which are placed rather close together—must have come from a classic building ; possibly, it has been thought, from the Praefectura Urbana, which stood near here.

In the left aisle is a curious mosaic picture of S. Sebastian representing him as an old man with quite white hair and beard, a Byzantine work judged to be of the seventh century. In 680 a great pestilence swept Rome, and we are told by Paulus Diaconus that it was said to a certain man by revelation that the pestilence itself would not cease until an altar to S. Sebastian the martyr were placed in the church of the blessed Peter which is called ad Vincula. And it was done, and after the

[1] This name does not appear till a comparatively late date.

remains of S. Sebastian had been carried from the city of Rome, presently the altar was set up in the aforesaid church and the pestilence itself ceased." [1]

One feels that the admirable deacon might have expressed himself better, but it is comforting to know that the pestilence ceased.

At the top of this aisle is the inscription of Severus : SALBO PAPA N JOANNE COGNOMENTO MERCURIO EX SCE ECCL ROM PRESBYTERIS ORDINATO EXSTIT SCI CLEMENTIS AD GLORIAM PONTIFICALEM PROMOTO A BEATO PETRO AP PATRONO SUO AVINCULIS EIUS SEVERUS PB OFERT ET TF PC LAMPADI ET OREST IS VV CC URBI CLUS CED RI NUS EST (" During the reign of the Pope John surnamed Mercurius who stood forth among the priests of the Holy Roman Church and who having been appointed to S. Clemente was advanced to the glory of the papacy by [the help of] blessed Peter the Apostle his patron, and by his chains, Severus the priest offers again after the consulship of the eminent men Lampadius and Orestis an ' orbiculus ' of cedar wood "). [2]

In the *apse* is a lovely episcopal chair resembling those in the Lateran cloisters and at S. Gregorio ; like them, I think, of Greek origin and the finest of all I have seen. Descending to

THE CONFESSION,

a reliquary is seen under the High Altar with another altar in front of it ; on each side of the reliquary are attractive modern statuettes and the doors of it—bronze and gilt—are beautiful, the subjects portrayed being Peter's condemnation by Nero and his deliverance from prison by the angel ; at the top is the Rovere oak and at the bottom two inscriptions, one mentioning Pope Sixtus IV and the other his nephew, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, by whose orders the doors were made in 1477. They are usually attributed to Pollaiuolo, but Professor Venturi gives them to Caradosso.

The reliquary contains the celebrated chain of Peter, which, according to Professor Bury, was brought from Jeruslem by Eudocia (Athenais) wife of Theodosius II (408-50) and given by her to her daughter Eudoxia (see above). Others say that the chains seem to have been venerated in Rome before her day. Professor Marucchi says there were three distinct legends, one of the fifth century which alludes to the chain wherewith Peter was bound in Rome, one which does not appear before

[1] Paul Diac. *Hist. Lom.*, VI, v.

[2] The interpretation of the two last lines is from De Rossi's " Inscriziones Christianae."

the eighth century and concerns the chain brought from Jerusalem, and a quite late tradition regarding the miraculous joining together of the two chains. Father Hartmann Grisar holds that the chains are of antique form and similar to those found at Pompeii. I believe there are about two dozen links in all, but it is difficult to count them. Filings from these chains were regarded as precious treasures ; the first mention comes from " the legates of Justinian in 519." Gregory the Great frequently sent them as presents. He writes to Constantina Augusta[1] ". . . . I will make haste to transmit to you some portion of the chains which S. Peter the Apostle himself bore on his neck and his hands, from which many miracles are displayed among the people ; if at least I should succeed in removing it by filing. For, while many come frequently to seek a blessing from these same chains, in the hope of receiving a little part of the filings, a priest attends with a file and in the case of some seekers a portion comes off so quickly from these chains that there is no delay ; but in the case of other seekers the file is drawn for long over the chains and yet nothing can be got from them . . . ."

Going down some steps behind the confession we find a tiny chapel with a sarcophagus which was found in 1876 behind the altar. It is said to be of the fourth or fifth century, and is shown as the tomb of the Maccabees. There has long been a connection between their name and this church, as a festival which commemmorated Augustus Caesar's capture of Alexandria was continued in the Christian calendar as one dedicated to the Maccabees and to S. Pietro ad Vincula. And it is a curious fact that this sarcophagus is divided into seven compartments. Cardinal Rampolla wrote an interesting pamphlet on the subject, from which the following is taken. After making out what appears to be a practically unassailable case for the Maccabees having been killed and buried at Antioch and thereafter venerated there the cardinal continues :

" A terrible earthquake took place in Syria in the sixth century. It destroyed many cities, and in Antioch was followed by a disastrous fire. According to Procopius and other writers, no churches there were spared, and Procopius also says that the principal buildings disappeared so completely that their very sites could not be pointed out with certainty. The exact date of these events is difficult to determine, but on the whole the most likely year seems to be 551. After this date we find no more references to the Maccabees or their church in Antioch.

It is permissible to suppose that Justinian, who was very

[1] Greg. the Gt. *Epis.* IV, xxx.

fond of relics, should have wished to save those of the Maccabees from the wreck and transport them to Constantinople ; and for this supposition there is direct support. De Saussay[1] cites documents, which he presumably had under his hands, for the assertion that Justinian did remove the relics of the Maccabees to Constantinople. Further, the Chronicon Paschale of the year 626, sixty years after the death of the emperor, mentions a church dedicated to the Maccabees in the Sicana quarter of Constantinople. Now this quarter had been very much rebuilt and enlarged by Justinian, so much so as to be sometimes called the Justinian city ; and since the ancient Descriptio Urbis Constantinopolitanae of the first half of the fifth century gives only one church in the Sicana quarter, that of S. Thecla, it is obvious that either Justinian or his immediate successors must have built and dedicated that of the Maccabees.

Now, the Roman martyrology, giving their feast in the month of August, affirms that their relics were brought from Constantinople to Rome and deposited in the Eudoxian basilica of S. Pietro in Vincoli. The inscription which could be read in the church in very early days[2] likewise asserts this. It runs as follows : " This temple of the Lord was dedicated once to Peter. Sixtus the Third, the Pope, formerly consecrated it ; being destroyed by civil war, Eudoxia afterwards indeed totally renewed it ; and Blessed Pelagius the Pope consecrated it again, burying there the bodies of the Holy Maccabees."

It is of course well known that Pelagius' predecessor, Pope Vigilius, resided at Constantinople from 547-555 and obtained from Justinian many concessions in favour of the Roman Church. He died at Syracuse on his way home in 555. It is not stretching probability too far to suggest that Justinian may have presented the relics of the Maccabees either to Vigilius or to Pelagius, who had been his companion at Constantinople and succeeded him as pope.

In 1876, during alterations in S. Pietro in Vincoli, a fourth or fifth century sarcophagus was discovered divided into seven compartments, each containing ashes and fragments of bone. Two inscriptions accompanied the sarcophagus, one inside, fastened to the wall of the first compartment and the other and better preserved one outside near by. They run as follows : " In these seven loculi are placed the bones and ashes of the Seven Holy Brothers Maccabees, of both their parents and of many other saints," and : " In these loculi are the remains of the Seven Holy Brothers Maccabees and of both their parents and of innumerable other saints."

[1] *Martyrolog. Gallican.* ad diem, Aug. 1.
[2] Copies of this exist.

It need only be remarked that, firstly, S. John Chrysostom in his Homily on the Maccabees speaks of their relics as dust, ashes and fragments of bone consumed by time; secondly, that from the account of an anonymous traveller of the sixth century[1] we know that in Antioch the Maccabees were all buried close together, but in seven separate tombs; and thirdly, that the curious mention of "both parents" in the inscriptions is a decided indication of the relics having reached Rome via Constantinople. For never, either at Antioch or in the West, was the priest Eleazar regarded or spoken of as the father of the Maccabees, nor in any martyrology. But in the liturgy of Constantinople the mistake does occur. It probably arose from a misunderstanding of S. Gregory of Nazianzen, who, in his Homily on the Maccabees, speaks of Eleazar as their master and teacher, and further on as their spiritual father. This probably in the course of time was taken to mean that he was their literal father, and thus the error in the liturgy arose. But it was never held anywhere else, and its appearance in the inscriptions on the sarcophagus suggests that the relics must have paused at Constantinople on their way to Rome. As to the date of these two inscriptions, archaeologists have so far been unable to agree, except in the opinion that the better preserved one is posterior to the other.[2]

THE CHURCH OF SAN GREGORIO

The church of S. Gregorio has a special interest for the English, as from here went forth the mission of S. Augustine, which converted so many of our forefathers.[3] The saint—son, of Gordianus and Sylvia—lived in a palace on the Coelian hill, and it is generally stated that the church stands on the same site; that the remains of walls in the garden belonged to this palace; and that the tiny cell at the top of the right aisle was the one he himself used. As a matter of fact his house and oratory still exist at a great depth under the present church, and in 1890 were found, says Commendatore Lanciani, to be in a marvellous state of preservation. The church, therefore, was built after his day. He himself, however, in 575 turned his home into a monastery,[4] known as "coenobium ad clivum Scauri," and placed it under the patronage of S. Andrew.

[1] Given in Toblier et Molinier, *Itinera hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* i. I. p. 118 & II. p. 381.

[2] I believe the earliest date suggested is the eighth century.

[3] *Lib. Pont.* Gregory I., 3 This was not, of course, the great Augustine.

[4] Ibid, 5.

Gregory II (715-31) is said to have restored this monastery, but as he erected the church which stands above it, this statement cannot be correct ; his building he dedicated to his great namesake. The long flight of steps leading to the church are shown in an old print of the sixteenth century ; Cardinal Scipione Borghese destroyed the old atrium in 1633 and the rest of the church was modernized in 1725.

In the atrium is a fine tomb of the brothers Bonsi, made by Luigi Capponi. We now enter the building and go straight to the top of the right aisle, where, in the cell called S. Gregory's, is an episcopal throne, one of the old classical seats which are probably of Greek origin (see Lateran Cloisters). The carving—now a good deal defaced—is fine, and the design splendid ; in the middle is an intricate pattern out of which springs the torso of a man with wings spreading across the back of the chair ; at the sides is the Greek honeysuckle design.

In the adjoining chapel is an altar with reliefs by the hand of Luigi Capponi. One is often told that one of these shows the release from purgatory of the soul of Trajan. The legend is that one day Gregory saw in the Forum a bronze relief which represented the well-known story of the emperor's justice to a widow. " Overcome by grief that so just a ruler should be condemned to eternal perdition, he wept at the thought all the way to S. Peter's, where, falling into an ecstasy, he heard a voice from heaven telling him that his prayers for Trajan had been heard and his soul released." I can find nothing of this on the altar ; on the left the carving shows first a monk in purgatory and then released, with the inscription : " S. Gregory liberated the soul of his monk by thirty masses." In the middle is the miracle of Corpus Christi ; on the right are portrayed several people being released, with the inscription : " Masses celebrated in the cell of Gregory I Supreme Pontiff set souls free from the tortures of purgatory."

The church has a lovely Cosmatesque pavement.

Opening from the left aisle is the *Salviati chapel*, with a marble dorsal or altar-piece, " among the best anonymous works of the fifteenth century in Rome," says Perkins. Unfortunately it has been restored, but is still very fine. At the top is represented the mausoleum of Hadrian with an angel hovering above it, the pope with his cardinals kneeling on the left, and a prostrate crowd on the right. (For the legend see p. 161.) Four statuettes of the saint are placed above the side columns, between which SS. Gregory and John the Evangelist stand in niches, while below are the figures of a bishop and a woman, the former a beautiful and absolutely lifelike work.

Leaving the chapel by a door at the lower end, we find a gate on the right leading into the monks' garden with a vine pergola and orange trees; then comes an open space with a stone pine and a bit of the "wall of the kings," and from this open three chapels which were restored in the sixteenth century. In the further one—that of *S. Barbara*—is a very fine marble table supported by four griffins with a beautifully carved honeysuckle design between them, and a splendidly cut inscription on the top: BIS SENOS HIC GREGORIUS PASCEBAT EGENTES ANGELUS ET DECIMUS TERTIUS ACCUBUIT ("Here Gregory fed twelve poor people, and an angel sat down to table as the thirteenth"). The Mirabiliana[1] gives a slightly different version of the feast: "There is also the cloister of the holy Gregory wherein he let make him a monk; in the same cloister is a book of dialogues of his hand, and there is the image of the crucifix that nodded his head to bear witness between a Jew and a Christian of the money received. At the same is the board whereat S. Gregory did set twelve poor folk whom he had bidden and Our Lord Jesus Christ appeared as the thirteenth Guest." From this legend arose the custom adopted by the popes, who serve thirteen poor men on Maundy Thursday.

At the end of the room is a very good statue of S. Gregory, erected in 1602. The pope is not buried in his own church, but at S. Peter's (which see).

Returning to the long flight of steps leading from the atrium to the piazza, let us seat ourselves on the top step and consider for a while what manner of man was this Gregory called the Great. It is a quiet spot redolent of antiquity; on the left one sees the trees of the Passegiata Archeologica, where stood the Porta Capena[2] of the wall of the kings over which passed the Aqua Appia. Through this gate S. Paul must have passed when he entered Rome by the Appian Way.[3] Beyond this lie the baths of Caracalla; in front rises the Palatine hill where Roman history began; on the right is the Clivus Scauri with its picturesque arches, and the beautiful apse of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, a church founded in a Roman house of very early date, while at our feet is the little grassy, tree-shaded piazza where S. Augustine and his fellow-monks knelt to receive Gregory's blessing before starting on their mission to Britain.

[1] *Mirabiliana* I, 12.

[2] It has been said that the ruin here is part of a tower and not of the gate; but that it is the site of the gate seems proved by the fact that the pavement of the Via Appia was found passing through it.

[3] Acts XXVIII, 15.

Gregory (born about 540, died 604) of the family of the Anicii, was a descendant of Felix III,[1] who had been married before he became pope. The young noble took an active part in public affairs and in 573 was praefect of Rome. At about the age of thirty-five he came under religious influences, renounced the world, and turned his family mansion, as was said above, into a monastery, which he entered as a simple monk. After a time he was elected abbot and was presently sent as one of the papal representatives to the court of Constantinople; it was not till 585 that he returned to his beloved monastery, which he only quitted with the greatest reluctance to ascend the papal throne as the choice of clergy, Senate and people.[2]

His reluctance was, obviously, perfectly genuine, but once consecrated he threw himself into his new work with the utmost energy and zeal. It has been justly said of this truly great man that his importance was world-wide; he made Rome respected in all lands, he exhorted all rulers to virtue and justice, he protected individuals from the oppression of imperial officials and showed the utmost care in administering the estates of the church, which now covered some 1,600 square miles. His knowledge of all parts of the patrimony is remarkable and his letters show the same interest he took in whatever concerned the people committed to his charge. Nothing was too large, nothing too small for his attention, and " his care and correspondence embraced all the countries of Christendom." Neglected by the emperor and his representatives, the Romans depended on the pope, and to provide for the provisioning and welfare of the city was one of his responsibilities. Continued suffering added to the hardship of his life, which he constantly bewails in his letters: " Such great burdens of business press me down that my mind can in nowise lift itself to heavenly things. I am tossed by the billows of a multitude of affairs, and after the ease of my former quiet, am afflicted by the storms of a tumultuous life .... With what a bustle of earthly business I am distracted in this place, I cannot express in words." " What tribulation I suffer in this land from the swords of the Lombards, from the iniquity of judges, from the press of business, from the care of subjects, and also from bodily affliction I am unable to express either by pen or tongue." " For my sins, lo, it is now eleven months since it has been a very rare

[1] Gregory alludes to him as " my great-grandfather, sometime bishop of this see of Rome." *Dialogues* IV, 16.

[2] He wrote to Theoctista, sister of the Emperor Maurice, " Under colour of episcopacy I have been brought back to the world in which I am involved in such great earthly cares as I do not remember having been subjected to even in a lay state. For I have lost the deep joys of my quiet and seem to have risen outwardly while inwardly falling down." *Epis.* I, v.

case with me if I have been able now and then to rise from my bed." "Mine unhappy soul, wounded with worldly business, doth now call to mind in what state it was when I lived in my abbey."[1]

The winter of 589-90 was a very terrible one in Rome. Gregory, writing some years later, says that "the river of the Tiber became so great that it ran over the walls of Rome and overflowed many countries."[2] Gregory of Tours also alludes to the damage done by this flood, and goes on to speak of the great plague[3] (see Castel S. Angelo). And the Lombards were already in the land.[4] One of the greatest services that Gregory rendered to his countrymen was the peace with this people which resulted from his negotiations. Gibbon speaks favourably of the Lombards, but most authorities take a very different view of them; they seem to have been regarded with the utmost horror by their contemporaries and the misery under their rule was unbounded. Gregory speaks of them as "a most savage race," "that most wicked nation," and gives a pathetic picture of the state of Italy. ". . . . the Lombards left their own country and invaded ours, by reason whereof the people, which before for the huge multitude were like to thick cornfields, remain now withered and overthrown; for cities be wasted, towns and villages spoilt, churches burnt, monasteries of men and women destroyed, farms left desolate and the country remaineth solitary and devoid of men to till the ground, and destitute of all inhabitants."[5]

At this time Agilulph the Lombard king had his seat at Pavia; the kingdom included almost all northern Italy and the great dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, with a certain jurisdiction over some other places. But beyond the limits of their actual occupation the Lombards kept the country in a continual agitation. During this dark time Gregory showed his ability as a statesman, though his plans were often thwarted by the imperialists. It must be remembered that the pope was not yet a temporal sovereign, but merely a subject of the emperor and subordinate to the exarch. It was only by his zeal, his ability and his indomitable courage that Gregory was enabled to take the position that he did.

In 593 Agilulph approached Rome, and the Codex Harniensis[6] says that Gregory met him on the steps of Peter's and that

[1] *Epis.* I, vii; V, xxxix; IX, cxxiii; *Dial.* I, Preface to Peter the Deacon.

[2] *Dial.* III, 19.

[3] *Hist. of Franks*, X, I.

[4] See Historical Sketch.

[5] *Epis.* V, xx; V, xli; *Dial.* III, 38.

[6] Composed about 625, quoted by Hodgkin.

his prayers saved the city. However this may be, Rome was not taken, and the Lombard king returned to Pavia. Gregory seems to have wished to make a separate peace with him as the Exarch would not do so, for he wrote to the Bishop of Milan urging him to try and reconcile Agilulph and Romanus, but adding, " if you should see that Agilulph is doing nothing with the Patrician [the Exarch], promise him on our part that I am prepared to give attention to his case if he should be willing to arrange anything with the republic advantageously."[1]

In 595 he wrote to Severus, assessor to Romanus, telling him that the king " is not unwilling to make a general peace if my lord the Patrician is of the same mind .... If he will not consent, Agilulph promises to make a separate peace with us ; but we know that in that case several islands and other places will necessarily be lost."[2]

From this same year dates a letter of bitter complaint against the Exarch addressed to Sebastian, bishop of Sirmium : " We can by no means describe, most holy brother, what we suffer in this land at the hands of your friend the lord Romanus. Yet I may briefly say that his malice towards me has surpassed the swords of the Lombards ; so that the enemies who kill us seem kinder than the judges of the Republic, who by their malice, rapines and deceits wear us out with anxiety."[3] Gregory's efforts for peace having failed, he turned his attention to the redemption of captives. In 598 Romanus died, and by the latter part of the year things looked more hopeful, for we find the pope writing to Agilulph to thank him " for hearkening to our petition," and begs him to enjoin " upon your dukes in various places that they may keep this peace inviolate." But he appears not to have regarded this as a lasting peace, for in a letter to the bishop of Cagliari he calls it a truce.

Gregory opened communications with the Lombard queen Theodolinda and exhorted her " so to deal with your most excellent consort that he may not reject the alliance of the Christian republic."[4] Through her influence Agilulph was converted from Arianism to Catholicism and, says Paulus Diaconus, " concluded a firm peace with the same most holy man Pope Gregory and with the Romans."[5] Callinicus, the new exarch, was a party to the treaty which was finally concluded in 599.

[1] *Epis.* IV, ii.
[2] *Epis.* V, xxxvi.
[3] *Epis.* V, xlii. Romanus kept up the form of war with the invaders, but his chief pre-occupation seemed to be to prevent anyone from making peace with them.
[4] *Epis.* IX, xliii ; IX, xlii ; IX, vi.
[5] Paul. Diac. *Hist. Lom.* IV, viii.

We may now turn to a subject in which Gregory was interested in an entirely different way; the conversion of the English. Before his pontificate he had desired to go himself to "this land of Saxons, English and Jutes," but was hindered by the people of Rome, who would not suffer him to leave them. When he became pope he again turned his attention to the subject.

Of course, there was already a Christian church in Britain; the Romans in the second century had carried the faith to its shores, and later Irish missionaries had worked there. But in the sixth century the Christians were confined to Wales and the northern districts of England and the Anglo-Saxons of the south were pagans. To them went forth "Mellitus and Augustine and John and many other monks who feared God."[1] The missionaries probably left Rome in 596 and got as far as the south coast of France, whence, their hearts failing them at the terrors of the journey, they sent Augustine back to Rome to beg that they might be permitted to relinquish it. This the pope would in nowise allow, and he again dispatched his monk with a letter dated July 22nd, 596: "Since it had been better not to have begun what is good than to return back from it when begun, you must, most beloved sons, fulfil the good work which, with the help of the Lord, you have begun. Let then, neither the toil of the journey nor the tongues of evil-speaking men deter you; but with all instancy and all fervour go on with what under God's guidance you have commenced, knowing that great toil is followed by the glory of an eternal reward. Obey in all things humbly Augustine your provost who is returning to you, whom we also appoint your abbot, knowing that whatever may be fulfilled in you through his admonition will in all ways profit your souls. May Almighty God protect you with his grace and grant to us to see the fruit of your labours in the eternal country; that so, even though I cannot labour with you, I may be found together with you in the joy of the reward; for in truth I desire to labour. God keep you safe, most beloved sons."[2]

He also gave them letters of recommendation to many bishops and potentates, which seem to have been useful, as to several he afterwards wrote his thanks; i.e., to Theodebert,[3] King of Austrasia, to Theodoric[4] of Burgundy, and to their notorious grandmother Brunehilde,[5] whom he calls "naturally prone to good works"; not the character usually assigned to her! The missionaries reached England in 597, and 10,000 of the natives were baptised before Easter. In 600-601

[1] *Lib. Pont.* Gregory I, 3. [2] *Epis.* VI, li. [3] Ibid. XI, lx.
[4] Ibid. XI, lix. [5] Ibid XI, lxii.

Augustine sent Laurentius and Peter back to Gregory to ask for more missionaries and for instruction on certain points; they brought back men, replies to the questions,[1] and relics for the churches. Also letters to Edelbert,[2] king of the Angles, and his wife Bertha. To the latter he says that Laurentius and Peter have "brought us word on their return to us how your Glory has exhibited yourself towards our most reverend brother and fellow-bishop Augustine, and how great succour and what charity you have bestowed upon him."[3]

The enterprise was altogether so successful that it must have brought great comfort to the heart of the harassed and suffering pope.

The one great blot on Gregory's fair name is his jubilation on the death of the Emperor Maurice, and his fulsome congratulations to his successor Phocas. Maurice, who was a brilliant general, had not been quite so successful as a ruler, perhaps because he "rode with a sharper curb than the demoralized army and nobles of Constantinople could tolerate"; but he appears to have been just and noble-hearted. Sorely pressed in the East, his efforts to help Italy were feeble, and he was evidently jealous of Gregory's dealing with the Lombards; he called him a traitor and received from the pope a scathing reply.[4] Maurice had also aroused Gregory's animosity by supporting the pretensions of the Patriarch of Constantinople to equality with Rome. Taking all this into account, we can understand that the emperor's death might be felt as a relief. Gregory hoped that his successor would crush the pretensions of the eastern patriarch to the title of oecumenical, and doubtless he was not fully aware of what sort of man was the new emperor; but the pope can hardly have been ignorant of the fact that Phocas, a common centurion, had led a military revolt and slain Maurice after murdering his five sons before their father's eyes, and some knowledge of his character must surely have penetrated to Rome. By contemporaries Phocas appears to have been regarded as a "monster without a palliating virtue or a redeeming grace." Professor Bury says that the "chroniclers seem to have avoided dwelling on his reign as if it were a sort of plague spot." Yet to this man Gregory addressed a letter beginning: "Glory to God in the Highest, who, according as it is written, changes times and transfers kingdoms, seeing that He has made apparent to all what He vouchsafed to speak by His prophet, 'That the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will.'" He then goes on to say that he rejoices that "the Benignity of your Piety

[1] Ibid. XI, lxiv. [2] Ibid. XI, lxvi. [3] Ibid. XI, xxix.
[4] Ibid. V, xl.

has arrived at imperial supremacy. 'Let the earth rejoice and let the heavens be glad,' and let the whole people of the republic, hitherto afflicted exceedingly, grow cheerful from your benignant deeds."[1] Again, "It pleases me to consider, with rejoicings and great thanksgivings, what praises we owe to Almighty God, that the yoke of sadness has been removed and we are come to times of liberty under the imperial Piety of your Benignity."[2]

But in spite of this it has been truly said that though Gregory should perhaps be judged rather as a great Roman than as a great saint, no more noble spirit ever filled S. Peter's chair. Under responsibilities and distractions that can hardly be realised, in constant and grievous pain, in constant longing for the tranquil repose of his monastic days, he never fainted or failed; amid the desolation of his country, his justice, generosity and humanity, his whole-hearted endeavours to aid the wretched, and his never-ending struggles to rid his country of the Lombards stand out in bright contrast to the doings of the imperial officials, and have most fully entitled him to be called the Great.

Johannes Diaconus saw and described a painting of him at the monastery on the Coelian. It shows, he says, a "pleasing figure of mild aspect with a brownish beard. His forehead was bald, high and broad, surrounded with scanty black hair; the expression of his face was gentle, and his biographer tells us that his beautiful hands with their round fingers denoted dexterity in writing . . . . No nimbus surrounded his head, a square frame instead, behind it, showed that the portrait was painted during the lifetime of the pope."[3]

[1] Ibid. XIII, xxxi.
[2] Ibid. XIII, xxxviii.
[3] *Vita* IV, 83, 84.

CHAPTER XIV

SOME EARLY CHURCHES (*continued*)

THE BASILICA OF SANTA CECILIA

The Gesta of S. Cecilia state that she was a young woman of noble birth who was given in marriage by her father to Valerian. She had already vowed herself to Christianity, and on her wedding day, under her golden robe she wore a hair-shirt. After the ceremony was over she told Valerian of her desire and intention to remain a virgin and persuaded him to go and see the Bishop Urban, who would explain to him the motives which inspired her. Urban converted the young man to Christianity, and Cecilia now begged her brother-in-law Tiburtius to visit the holy man. "Is it he," asked Tiburtius, "whom the Christians recognise as their Pope?" He then went to see Urban and was also converted.

Turcius Almachius, præfect of the city, daily persecuted the Christians, and promulgated an order forbidding their burial; nevertheless, the brothers gave sepulture to many of the martyrs, and were condemned to decapitation. The cornicularius[1] Maximus, in whose charge they were placed, was persuaded by them of the truth of their doctrines. When Almachius heard this he ordered Maximus to be beaten with plumbatæ,[2] and under this he gave up his soul. Cecilia buried him in the place where she had already laid her husband and his brother, and ordered that on his sarcophagus a phoenix should be carved "as a mark of his faith; for he had trusted that he would find resurrection after the manner of the phoenix." Cecilia continued to labour for the conversion of the pagans, and Urban coming to her house baptised there "more than fifty people of both sexes and all ages and conditions, among them an eminent man by name Gordianus. Under cover of his own name he held the house of Cecilia, that from the day on which the baptism of Christ had been celebrated within it, it might become in secret a church, and that the pope of the city Urban might remain there."

[1] Adjutant to a tribune or centurion.

[2] Leaden balls hung on a stick and used to batter in the victim's skull.

Cecilia was now arrested and taken before Almachius to whom she spoke very boldly, not to say indeed impertinently, for she called him a liar. He asked her if she were not aware that "our masters, the invincible emperors, have ordered that all those who will not deny that they are Christians, shall be punished, and that those who consent to do so shall be set free."[1] He continued: "The accusers depose that you are a Christian; deny it, and the consequences of the accusation will fall upon them."[2]

Finally Cecilia was ordered to be asphyxiated in her own bath, condemnations to death in the victim's own house being not unusual. She was therefore shut up in the "caldarium or rather the laconicum of her house," and a violent fire lighted in the hypocaust, so that steam should rise, and, no fresh air being admitted, she should slowly suffocate. "But though they worked the whole of one day and night, making an exceeding great fire of wood, she remained in health unimpaired and almost as though she were in a cold place." When Almachius heard this he sent a man to decapitate her. The executioner gave her three strokes, but failing to cut off her head, left her half dead, "for there was among the ancients a law which imposed that if after three strokes the head were not cut off, they might not strike again."[3] All the people who through her had believed came and soaked up her blood with sponges and linen cloths"; she lived for three days, continuing to encourage those present; to the "holy Pope Urban she committed the women she had taught, and said to him; 'These three days delay have been granted to me to this end, that I might entrust these to your blessedness, and that thou mayest consecrate this my house in the name of the Church.'" She then "passed into the presence of God," and Urban buried her "among his fellow-bishops, where are laid all the martyrs and confessors."[4]

The Gesta are not earlier than the late fifth or early sixth century, and these late passions are often a tissue of legends. Against those of Cecilia it has been objected that Pope Urban lived in the reign of Alexander Severus, who was not a persecutor; to this it is replied that he might easily have been con-

[1] These are the words of the rescript of M. Aurelius and Commodus addressed to the legate of the Lyonnais in 177.

[2] This, doubtless, refers to the order of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus (see Persecutions.)

[3] This last sentence is in the recension of the passion given by Bosio. Historia Passionis S. Ceciliæ 1600. Allard says that he can find no other mention of such a law or custom, and that it was not in force in the fourth century as Jerome writes (*Ep.* I, ii) of a woman receiving many strokes of the sword.

[4] If she was killed A.D. 177 (see below) *no* bishops were yet buried in the catacomb of Calixtus, nor indeed did it exist.

fused with a Bishop Urban buried in Praetextatus at a much earlier date, for many such mistakes occur ; that Almachius uses the words of the rescript of 177 and that he alludes to " our lords " in the plural ; that at that date two emperors (Marcus Aurelius and Commodus) were reigning ; that sepulture was certainly at this time forbidden to the martyrs of Lyons[1] and probably elsewhere, and that Ado of Vienne says, " passa est beata Virgo Marco Aurelio et Commodo imperatoribus," and he must have taken this phrase as it stood from some earlier document and could not have invented it, as it contradicts other passages in his work. All this evidence would place Cecilia's martyrdom between 177, when Commodus was made emperor, and 186, when Marcus Aurelius died ; 177 is now the usually accepted date. It is true that the Liber Pontificalis[2] says that Urban I converted Valerian, the husband of Cecilia, but at this period the Liber is full of inaccuracies ; for instance, it says that Urban was a confessor in the time of Diocletian, whereas the pope died about 230, while Diocletian commenced his reign only in 285, and that he was buried in the catacomb of Praetextatus, whereas his epitaph has been found in that of Calixtus. That the Gesta contained much truth is shown by what follows :

" Paschal I (817-24) translated to the city churches many bodies of the saints, including those from the papal crypt. Having almost rebuilt the church of S. Cecilia, which was ruined to the foundations, he much desired to place therein her relics, but could not find them. The Liber Pontificalis states that " on a certain day he had proceeded to the church of the blessed Peter Prince of the Apostles, and seeing that, according to his usual custom, he had kept watch before the same blessed Peter, remaining before his confession ; at dawn on Sunday, having chanted Matins and Lauds, he was suddenly overcome with slumber and beheld before him a maiden of virginal aspect clothed in angelic garments who addressed him. . . Paschal began earnestly to inquire who she might be who spoke these words. To whom she replied, ' If you ask my name, I am called Cecilia the servant of Christ !' The chief priest asked, ' How can I believe this, since history relates that formerly the body of the venerable martyr of Christ, Cecilia, was secretly borne away by Agistulfus, King of the Lombards, then living in Rome as an enemy, and his men ?' To whom the Servant of God replied : ' That the Lombards sought me with desire that they might find me is entirely true ; but by the aid of my Lord

[1] It was thought that if the bodies were burnt and the ashes scattered the Christians could have no resurrection.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* Urban I.

Jesus Christ and the help of my Lady Mary holy Mother of God ever Virgin, they were not able to discover me nor to carry me afar off as they wished. Therefore, since thou hast begun to seek me, do not cease to devote thyself to the task with unremitting labour till thou shalt have found me, since it pleases the Lord God for whose love and honour I suffered that thou shouldst find me and place me in the church which thou hast newly built.' Saying these things, she vanished from before his eyes.

"Then the same venerable pontiff, having finished Matins and Lauds and having had such an undoubted revelation imparted to him, began to seek zealously here and there where her most holy body might be buried ; which he then found, God granting it, in the cemetery of Praetextatus, which is situate outside the Porta Appia, and with it the body of her venerated spouse, Valerian ; and linen cloths with them soaked in her martyr's blood when she was consecrated a martyr of the Lord Jesus Christ, reigning in heaven by the impious blow of the executioner. . . All of which things he [the Pope] collected together with his own hands and brought them with great honour within the walls of the city of Rome and to the church dedicated in the name of the holy martyr herself, and he placed under the holy altar to the honour and glory of God the body of the virgin with Valerian her well-loved spouse and Tyburtius and Maximus martyrs and also Urban and Lucius popes. . . ."[1]

We see that Paschal is said to have found Cecilia with her husband in Praetextatus, and this has for long been considered a mistake. That she was buried in Calixtus seems certain and is confirmed by all the Itineraries. Valerian was as certainly buried in Praetextatus ;[2] how did they come together ? One or other must have been moved. The Martyrologium Hieromynianum gives *two* feast days for Valerian Tiburtius and Maximus—April 14th in Praetextatus and April 21st in Calixtus ; this may point to their translation ; but as the Liber Pontificalis at the time of Paschal I is "absolutely contemporary and most unlikely to be in error on a point of this nature," and as everyone knew where the tomb of Cecilia was, no search for her would have been necessary, and Duchesne is of opinion that

[1] A document which for long passed for a letter of Paschal is now considered to be false ; it was evidently founded on the above, but gives certain details not contained there ; such as that the pope found Cecilia in her golden robe. Bosio knew two recensions of this document.

[2] And was still probably there in the time of Adrian I (772-795), as the Liber Pontificalis (*Adrian* I, 78) says that this pope "restored the church of the blessed Tiburtius Valerian and Maximus," and he would hardly have done this, says Duchesne, if the bodies had been taken away.

she was moved to Praetextatus at the time of the Lombards in order to hide her from them.

As regards her head having been removed from her body and put into a reliquary, one does not know how to reconcile the contemporary statement of the Liber Pontificalis and the state of her relics as found by Sfondratus (see below). It has been thought possible that the head was replaced in the coffin after Paschal's time, but the later accounts speak of it in such a position that it must have been *joined* to the body. That Maderno and others mistook a bundle of linen for the head, as has been suggested, is surely an absurd theory.

The solution may be found in the account of Bosio, who says that the head of Tiburtius was missing and was in a reliquary made by Paschal; the mention of Cecilia's name in this connection may be merely a clerical error.

In 1599 Cardinal Sfondratus of the title of S. Cecilia found three sarcophagi in a vault beneath the High Altar of the church. Cardinal Baronius in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* and Antonio Bosio the antiquary have left behind such interesting accounts of the opening of these, that I give very large excerpts. The following is Bosio's account :—[1]

"The revelation was made thus: when the illustrious Cardinal Paul Sfondratus obtained the ancient church of S. Cecilia as his title, he began by reason of his devotion towards God and the holy martyr to repair and adorn it, and among other things he designed to construct beneath the High Altar (which according to the ancient custom was turned towards the East) a place of safe-custody to contain the holy relics. . . . In the accomplishment therefore of this purpose it was necessary to excavate where a depression in the soil left more space for the holy resting place; and the same Illustrious Cardinal would have nothing moved without his being present, and for this reason, that he hoped by digging in this manner to find the bodies of the holy Cecilia and her companion Martyrs Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus as also of Urban and Lucius, popes, since he was led by many conjectures to believe that they were in this place. For as well as the testimony of many ancient writings, including the letter of Pope Paschal himself. . . ." it was known that in common with most of the other ancient churches containing bodies of martyrs, there had been, in all probability, a hole down which cloths could be lowered to touch the tomb and lamps could be lit. Therefore Sfondratus ". . . ordered the pavement to be pulled up, and when this had been done and the earth beneath removed and the upper wall demolished, there appeared two marble coffins at a depth of about three feet,

[1] Bosio, *Historia passionis S. Ceciliae*, 1600.

almost touching each other, but placed lengthwise to the Altar, so that the latter placed above, overhung them, so to say. All these things having been done and discovered in the presence of the illustrious cardinal himself, he now, before proceeding further, ordered witnesses of a suitable trustworthiness to be summoned. These were the most reverend bishop, Paulo Isernensis, Vicar General of the Pope, Jacobus Butius Canon of the Lateran . . . and the reverend Fathers Pietro Alagona and Pietro Morra of the Society of Jesus, and on their arrival and that of several others among the cardinal's friends, everything was examined in order with great care in their presence.

" To begin with the first marble coffin, that is to say, that one which lay towards the threshold of the church—when the marble top was removed, there was seen to be enclosed within a coffin of cypress wood, six palms long, one and a half wide and two high ; it was indeed not fastened with a key at all, nor yet fixed with nails, but closed with a lid of thin wood inserted and fitted to the edges, so as to permit of its being moved with the hand from one end and so drawn off and put back again, and when this way, of opening had been after a very brief delay of searching, by the help of God discovered, the same Cardinal with his own hands undertook the work, and with reverence as was seemly drew it back and removed it. The coffin being now opened, there appeared adorning it within a tissue of a kind of silk, resembling that which is commonly called saia, and with regard to the colour both red and green mingled could be seen, although on account of the length of time the lustre of it was dimmed. This was the fabric of which the librarian, writing on Paschal, speaks when he notes the gifts made by that pope to this church : " And he made for the coffin on the body of the said virgin a tissue veil fourfold with periclysin." Within this coffin lay the body of the blessed virgin Cecilia, covered with a silken veil likewise blackened, and beneath the veil there gleamed with a dim splendour the golden robes sprinkled with the traces of her virgin blood. With these golden robes (which she herself had worn in life) had the holy body been found by the blessed Paschal. . . But, as the cardinal himself testifies that he perceived, there lay concealed beneath the golden robes the stiff covering of hair-shirt adhering closely to the sacred bones, of which the Acta speak. . . At the feet of the holy body there lay a heap of folded cloths, those without doubt which the same Paschal mentions in his letter concerning the finding of her, where he wrote : ' And cloths soaked, etc.' . . . The virginal body seemed to be five palms and barely a half in length ; doubtless the bones must have dried and contracted

through age, for that the living maiden must have been of higher stature who can doubt ? The body lay upon its right side, the legs slightly drawn up, the arms stretched out, and the head exceedingly bent[1] with the face turned towards the ground, lying in the manner of one asleep, and in such a way that one would think her keeping the form which she took when after the triple stroke, having survived three days, she had lost consciousness and given up her soul to God ; and in like manner had been placed by Pope Urban in the cemetery. She had been laid beneath Paschal's High Altar, so that her upper part faced towards the south, her feet towards the north of the church ; and Cardinal Sfondratus had made a marble image of her body lying in this position, of which we will say more below.

" In the other and near-by marble coffin, which was on the inner side, that is to say towards the confession and the altar, there were found three bodies of saints who were her companions in her passion, namely Tiburtius, Valerian and Maximus, which had been placed beneath the holy altar by Paschal, as history bears witness. Each body was enwrapped according to the ancient custom in its own cloth and veil ; and they were so laid that to the side on which lay the head of the first one, that is to say to the left of the altar, the feet of the second were placed ; and the third was put the opposite way to the second, so that it lay the same way as the first. And although there was no sign of any writing that should name them or separate them one from the other, nevertheless it was possible to distinguish them and tell them apart ; to wit, that the first was S. Tiburtius, the second, in the middle, Valerian, and the third S. Maximus ; for they were named in that order in the epitaph above and also enumerated by the blessed Pope Paschal, as we shall see further on. The body also of S. Tiburtius was known from that of S. Valerian by this argument, that the body of S. Tiburtius lacked his head, since it was preserved in the church without, in the tabernacle itself, taken, it is said, by Pope Paschal. The body of S. Valerian was known from that of S. Maximus, because his head was found severed from his body since he had been decapitated by the sword, and the size and form of the head was very similar to that of S. Tiburtius, so that they would seem to be those of brothers who were nearly of an age. On the other hand, S. Maximus, who did not lose his head but was beaten to death with plumbatae, was found with his head joined to his body, and when the cardinal wished to remove it in order that it might be publicly venerated on the altar without, together with those of SS. Tiburtius and Valerian,

[1] I have been told that surgeons say that a head partially severed from the neck on one side would naturally fall into this position.

it was only with much labour and effort that he did so ; also the said head exhibited the marks of the blows it had received from the plumbatae, also signs of a fracture ; but yet it was whole and entire with a head of flaxen hair as though living, and all the hair could be seen to be matted with blood yet incorrupt. But since it was much larger than the other in form and proportions, it was permissible to guess that S. Maximus exceeded SS. Tiburtius and Valerian in size and stature of body. In front of this coffin was Paschal's marble tablet containing the names of the holy martyrs, set forth in lines which we will return to later. In truth the bodies had never been moved, but had remained in their own original position ; but now the illustrious Cardinal Sfondratus, being moved with special devotion towards the body of blessed Cecilia, ordered the cypress coffin in which she lay to be extracted from the marble one, and then with torches burning all around and a pious multitude attending, he bore it to the chapel which was attached to the monastery, which chapel is at the head of the aisle on the right of the High Altar and where the confessions of the nuns are usually heard. But the cardinal himself ordered another wooden coffin to be made and had the whole of the inside lined with silk, and within it he placed the ancient cypress one and carefully closed it and signed and sealed it as a witness. . . In this chapel, therefore, the coffin was deposited closed, as we have said, and sealed with seals ; and was placed on a high platform suitably adorned, and so made as to reach up to a window barred with iron grilles from whence those within the church could conveniently look in and worship ; since immediately the news spread through the city the crowd began, and, as we shall see later, grew larger and larger. And the cardinal having firmly closed the chapel, securing it with seals and keeping the keys always in his own possession, after giving such orders as appeared necessary for the guarding of so great a treasure, set out without delay that he might bear the news of the finding to the pope at Tusculum where he was in the habit of spending the autumn days. . ." He then says that the pope, being laid up with gout and unable to come himself, sent Cardinal Baronius as his representative. " And not long after the illustrious Cardinal Sfondratus, calling to mind that Paschal, as well as the above-mentioned bodies, had also deposited the blessed Popes Urban and Lucius in the same church, ordered the engineers to dig deeper close to the upper place, and immediately under the marble sarcophagus from which the body of S. Cecilia had been taken another similar sarcophagus was perceived, in which had been laid the bodies of the two Popes Urban and Lucius, each separately enfolded in a wrapping of

their own ; but lying reverse ways—the first with the head to the right like that of S. Cecilia, the other to the left and inclined towards the High Altar. Finally, as the bodies which we had found were in these three coffins, that they were those of the above-mentioned Saints, is shown by the epitaph which. . . was placed there by the same Paschal.

" For that epitaph is in the lower and subterranean confession under the High Altar itself and can still be read ; for when Paschal had enclosed the three coffins we have spoken of, strongly within square walls, he erected in front and within the said confession a small altar, and on this, which closed the whole sepulchre, he placed on the side a stone slab containing the names of the aforesaid six holy martyrs cut in hexameters :

" ' Paschal I having verily renewed this church with faith and zeal while searching for the holy bodies, having found the body of the venerable and gracious martyr Cecilia, laid it here within this marble. Lucius and Urban, the Popes, lie here in her company. And Ye, witnesses of God, Tiburtius, Valerian and Maximus, hold meet fellowship with the rest. Rome devoutly worships these her illustrious patrons. . . . '

" When therefore dawned the day of the 22nd November, that day already famous for the glorious triumph of the virgin's martyrdom ; the pious Pope Clement had decreed that it should be made yet more famous by the replacing of the holy body with solemn Sacrifice. . . The hour was almost a quarter past ten when Pope Clement VIII, with the Sacred College and the Palatine Curia accompanying him, and a great and dense crowd of people, arrived at the threshold of S. Cecilia ; and having offered the usual prayers at the High Altar and adored the Sacred Host, entered the shrine at once. Here was the silver casket which had been prepared at the charges of the pope himself that the body of the holy martyr might be more honourably housed, this being in weight, measurements, form and cost as we shall describe further on ; this he blessed with the accustomed prayers from the books of ritual. After this, the pope, adorned with the pluviale and the precious tiara which are called the regnum, and preceded by the cross, by seven candlesticks and by all the cardinals and bishops vested in the most solemn manner, proceeded beneath a canopy sparkling with gold and silver and borne by the ambassadors of the Venetian Senate and the Duke of Savoy and the chiefs of the Romans, to a throne prepared for him in the apse of the church." Here follows a list of all the cardinals who were present, including Sfondratus himself and Baronius.

" The Pope being seated with the Cardinals round him and the rest having returned to their places (for in order to accom-

modate them the space of the old confession had been added to by a boarded platform) and the customary homage of the Cardinals being finished, the Psalms of Tierce were sung by the choir of singers. This being over, the Pope, vested in his priestly vestments, descended from the throne to the altar ; to which had been added facing the people a table of wood magnificently adorned, whereon was placed the cypress coffin covered with a cloth of gold which contained the virgin's holy body ; and there with Cardinals Sforza and Montisalti assisting as deacons, he began the most holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and said the first prayer of S. Cecilia, the second of SS. Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus, and the Cardinal of S. Giorgio, Aldobrandini, singing the Gospel, the Pope continued the rest of the Mass with great devotion until after the Communion. This was the chosen time, when, according to the ancient rite of the Church for such occasions, the body of the holy virgin and martyr was to be replaced in its former resting-place in the Confession ; the titular prelate Paul Sfondratus descended thither first, and took with him the silver casket after it had been blessed by the Pope, in order that everything necessary for the replacing might be in readiness. Then the Pope at the altar incensed the sacred body thrice ; and thereupon four Cardinal Deacons—Farnese, Santi Quattro, Aldobrandini and Caesi—placing themselves on all sides of the coffin, lifted it with the greatest reverence, and preceded by the Cross . . . bore the said coffin towards the Confession, the Pope following and assisting by pious movements of his hands while all the rest of the Cardinals assisted on every side. Meanwhile, the choir intoned the antiphon : ' O Blessed Cecilia who has overcome Almachius and hast called Tiburtius and Valerian to the crown of martyrdom.' And now, when the four Cardinals had reached the Confession, the Pope, with the help of the Deacons, placed the cypress coffin with the sacred body within the silver casket which he himself had had made ; and having received from Cardinal Sfondratus a silver scroll on which was engraved an inscription which we give below, he placed it beside the body of the holy virgin, and then, having venerated her three times with incense, he fell upon his knees and remained for some time in devout prayer, with pious tears streaming down his face ; then having lowered the lid and closed the casket, he arose, and returning to the Altar, brought the holy Sacrifice of the Mass to a close. And when he had imparted to the people, of whom such a large concourse had been present that neither the church nor the atrium would contain it, the pontifical Benediction, the solemnity of the holy replacing was happily and joyfully concluded."

" The silver casket which the liberality of Pope Clement had provided was 257 pounds in weight, and in value worth 4,392 gold pieces ; it measured six palms in length, about two in breadth and rather more than two in height. Within, it was completely lined with purple silk, and without, the silver was in many places overlaid with gold, more especially where it was enriched with ornaments. These were most admirable, and being far apart, stood out from each other. Stars and seraphim were sculptured at all the eight angles, the Papal emblems on each of the long sides . . . . and on the lid was placed an inscription in large and striking letters sparkling with gold. . . .

" Since the old and narrow marble sarcophagus would not take the silver casket, the Illustrious Cardinal Sfondratus enclosed it in a similar but larger marble one, and then laid it in the same spot of the resting-place where Paschal had placed her, close to the other five afore-mentioned bodies, which had remained as they were, without being moved, as is set forth in the inscription which was engraved on a silver scroll and placed as we have said above, beside the body of the holy virgin.

" ' Here lies the body of S. Cecilia, virgin and martyr, who after revealing herself to Pope Paschal I was found by him and translated to this church and laid beneath this altar together with the bodies of the holy martyrs Lucius and Urban, popes, and also Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus ; laid here again after eight hundred years by Pope Clement VIII beside the same martyrs. She was brought to light on the 20th of October in the year 1599 of Our Lord's Incarnation. The body of the holy virgin together with the cypress coffin wherein it lay has been enclosed in silver by our aforesaid lord Pope Clement and walled up intact in the same place in which it had been laid, after the accomplishment of a great solemnity of Masses in the presence of the whole people, amid devotion and tears. On the 22nd of November, the feast day of the said Virgin, 1599. And beside her in another coffin lie the three aforesaid martyrs Valerian, Tiburtius and Maximus ; and beneath the body of the Virgin, similarly in a separate coffin lie the aforesaid two popes and martyrs Urban and Lucius, all as they were laid in them by Pope Paschal.

" ' I, Paul Sfondratus, Titular of S. Cecilia and Cardinal Priest, to whom, a miserable sinner, it has been permitted to find, to see and to venerate the aforesaid body which for so long a time lay in darkness, have written these words as a memory of that which has been granted to me by Almighty God.'

" These things which were done in the course of the late finding and solemn reposition of the body of the holy virgin

Cecilia and her companions, we have both seen ourselves with our own eyes, and know by the faithful relation of Cardinal Sfondratus himself, who with great diligence assisted at all these things and took the lead therein. . ."[1]

The following is the account of Cardinal Baronius:[2]

" When the Cardinal Priest Sfondratus, Titular of S. Cecilia and nephew of Pope Gregory XIV of holy memory, after adorning the aforesaid church, turned his attention to the Confession that he might enrich and illuminate it in a more excellent manner, and that having sought with diligence for the valued relics of the saints he might place them in silver urns of great price and then replace them there; since there was no open space between the altar and the Confession, it was necessary to enlarge it. While he was doing this, there came to light an ancient hole which had been dug to afford an opening in to near the body of S. Cecilia through which . . . . the piety of the faithful was accustomed to put in cloths, which through having touched the graces of the martyrs, drew forth a healthful grace. Thus was in the same manner found the venerated sepulchre which enclosed the holy body of the admirable virgin and martyr Cecilia, and the inscription on it established the fact to all.

" What then did he [Sfondratus] do? After the example of John who ran faster than Peter and so arrived first at the Sepulchre and yet refrained from entering it himself, leaving the investigation to the Chief of the Apostles . . . he went in haste to Tusculum to the Supreme Pontiff that he himself might be present in person at the finding of so great a treasure, and thus have certainty about it. The holy Clement VIII was labouring in acute pain from gout and he let no one be admitted to audience with him; but nevertheless, when he heard the reason of his coming, he immediately desired his presence that he might hear all that had occurred. . ."

He was overjoyed and lamented that his illness would not permit him to go in person to see and venerate the relics. " . . . but he entrusted to me, most unworthy of so great a duty, the examination and veneration of the holy body of

[1] " We, Paul Sfondratus Cardinal Priest and Titular of S. Cecilia, bear witness that these lives of the most holy virgin Cecilia and her companions have been taken entirely from many and ancient MSS. by Antonio Bosio, and also that in those parts which refer to the finding of the bodies of the said Saints, everything has been written truthfully, sincerely and faithfully."—Note by Sfondratus in the beginning of Bosio's book.

[2] Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici* ad ann. 821, xviii, xix. (He adds the description as a supplement to his account of Paschal's pontificate.)

Cecilia, and therefore, returning together with the same Titular of S. Cecilia as quickly as he had come, we arrived joyfully in Rome on the evening of the same day.

" I saw how in the marble tomb was placed a coffin of cypress which enclosed the holy members of Cecilia and was fastened with a lid that could be drawn off, the same being but little injured, so that I was exceedingly struck with the fact that after 878 years a wooden coffin, which must have been rendered damp by the marble tomb, lying beneath the earth, and so placed as to be entirely excluded from the air, should have remained entire and uninjured ; and not so warped by the damp within as to be now shrinking and falling to pieces, but still strong and solid so that one could touch, handle, grasp and encircle it at will without harm : and moreover the use of the ductile lid was preserved entire so that for the showing of the relics it could be pulled backwards and forwards, which was done often and often during those many days before it could be replaced in the same spot in the Confession, since so many wished to see and venerate the sacred body enclosed within.

" Since we have now seen, not without great wonder, this coffin of wood, we now arrive at the consideration of what it contained, namely, the holy body of the martyr. . . For as we have read that Pope Paschal found and replaced her. . . the venerable body of Cecilia, thus did we find her ; that is to say, at her feet there were cloths soaked in blood, as there had been then ; drawn over her was a tissue of silk and gold as was then seen ; and traces of her golden robes which Paschal mentions, now fallen to pieces with age. Further, over the body of the martyr were placed light silken veils, the same sunk down so close that the position and habit of the body were plainly seen. And it could be seen, which is worthy of remark, that the body was not laid flat as is usual in a tomb, but as an honourable maiden would lie in bed on her right side, with her knees modestly bent a little, so that one would more readily think her asleep than dead ; and in such a way that the whole position of the body suggested a maidenly modesty, and this to such a degree that (and this also is worthy of notice) that no one whosoever who had looked on her had ever dared to uncover that virginal body, deterred as though her heavenly spouse were present watching over his sleeping bride. . ."

It was decided to replace her on her feast-day. " . . .Meanwhile [the Pope] thinking to make ready for her a more costly resting-place, considered whether to make it of gold, but was advised against it, since the gold might entice some impious riflers of tombs, so he ordered a very large case of silver to be made that would take the cypress coffin entire . . . Its cost

was 4,390 gold pieces, and on it without was placed this inscription : ' The body of S. Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr, enclosed by Pope Clement VIII in the year 1599. In the 8th of his pontificate ' "

And within on a silver scroll the same Cardinal Priest Paul, who as I have often said above was titular, " placed an account of all that had been done. . ."

THE BASILICA

The earliest place of worship here was, as we have seen, a house basilica. The excavations have not shown to whom the house originally belonged, and there is nothing to connect it with the family of Valerian ; but some authorities think that the Gesta are correct in assigning the ownership to Cecilia as inscriptions of the family have been found in the neighbourhood.[1] After the peace of the Church, a regular basilica—not merely a domestic one, was probably founded here, and De Rossi thought that the title of S. Cecilia must have been established between 379 and 464, basing his opinion upon an inscription which had been discovered. The priests of this church appear in the Roman council held by Symmachus (498-514) and Pope Vigilius was attacked here in 538. Gregory the Great (590-604) established one of the stations of the Church here, and one edition of the unauthentic letter of Paschal assigns the building of a basilica here to him ; as no remains later than the sixth century were found during the excavations it seems possible that the lower church may have been abandoned and a new one built above it, parts of which still exist.

In the present building, the brickwork of the apse is said to be older than that of the triumphal arch, and the exterior cornice of the same is decorated with carved marble corbels all alike and coming from some ancient building. In Gregory's time there were plenty of these to despoil, but in Paschal's day " builders were forced to use any fragments they could find."

A restoration took place under Gregory VII (1073-85), as stated in an inscription in the semi-circular passage behind the confession, and it was continued under Paschal II (1099-1118).

Cardinal Sfondrato did a good deal of work in the church, casing the pillars with stucco and making a new crypt. In 1725 Cardinal Acquaviva put up the ceiling, replaced the cosmatesque pavement by the present one, stuccoed the walls of the nave and altered the façade. In the nineteenth century

[1] De Rossi says that the Christian Cecilii of the second, third and fourth centuries were buried on the Via Appia, and the pagan members of the family of earlier date in the Trastevere.

Cardinal Doria Pamphili not only encased the pillars in piers, but, says Professor Marucchi, had the former pricked with holes the better to hold the lime, so that restoration was impossible. The whole is painted a yellowish cream and the present aspect of the church is monstrous.

Entering the cortile, we see on the right side of the archway a cippus of Vespasian with an inscription relating to the enlarging of the pomerium of Rome ; whenever this enlarging took place, the new line was marked by a row of these cippi.

The cortile represents the atrium of Paschal I's church, but the cantharus is probably a twelfth century copy of a classic model. The portico is of this date, the columns being of a much earlier period. De Rossi attributed the mosaics in the architrave to the thirteenth centry.

Entering the church, we go straight to the further end of the right aisle and descend some steps leading to the confession, which is under the High Altar. This was excavated in 1899, when a tiny rectangular chamber was found with Cecilia's coffin on the top, that of Valerianus, Tiburtius and Maximus below but further back, and that of Urban and Lucius on the floor.

In the centre of the lower sarcophagus is a phœnix which, as we have seen, Cecilia caused to be carved on the marble which enclosed Maximus. The early date of this is shown by the fact that the phœnix stands on a pillar or altar, as at a later date it was represented in the mosaics on a palm tree, whereas the old classic tradition placed it on an altar. Clement I (? 91-100) gives an account of it[1] : " Consider the wonderful portent which occurs in eastern countries, that is to say in Arabia. For there appears there a bird called the phœnix ; this being the only one, lives five hundred years ; the moment of its dissolution having then arrived, it builds itself a nest of incense and of myrrh and other aromatics, and, its time having come, enters therein and dies. The flesh then putrefying, gives birth to a certain kind of worm, which nourishes itself on the dead animal and grows feathers. When it has grown strong it lifts up the nest containing the bones of its parent and, carrying it, leaves Arabia and moves to Egypt to the city called Heliopolis. And in full daylight, flying, and in the sight of all men, it places the nest on the altar of the Sun and then goes back whence it came. The priests consulted their chronicles and discovered that it came at the end of each five hundred years."

Clement VIII's silver case was found in 1899 as "fresh as when it came from the silver smiths," except for a few marks which were cleaned off by Cardinal Rampolla himself ; in a

[1] Clem. I *Ep. Cor.* XXV.

flood of the Tiber which happened a few days later the water entered the two lower sarcophagi, and the bones were taken out, dried and replaced. The cardinal had the enlarged confession most lavishly decorated—too lavishly, it would have been more beautiful if simpler—the sarcophagi were replaced behind the fenestrella of the altar (both of which are charming) in the same relative positions as before. It is interesting to think that the martyr virgin still lies there in her golden robe—" one robe in all these years, *so* economical," as a Cistercian monk remarked to me one day.

Behind the confession is a semi-circular passage with an inscription of Gregory VII alluding to the restoration of the church.

Passing through the door on the opposite side of the confession, we enter the ancient house.[1] When Paschal I built his church he destroyed the greater part of this, carefully preserving, however, the bathroom, which he turned into an oratory.

Archæologists differ so much in the dates assignable to the different parts of these buildings that it is difficult to say anything very definite. One of them puts parts as early as the fifth or fourth century B.C., but the general opinion appears to be that the oldest existing parts are of Republican (probably second century) date ; that a brickstamp of Hadrian found in situ shows that part, at any rate, was rebuilt in the second century A.D. and that this was again transformed after Constantine.

Passing through a tiny chapel with marbles of the fourth and sixth centuries, we enter what was once the nave of the old basilica. On the left is one of the original pilasters and two others are in a small passage to the right. A little way beyond this passage is the museum. In the middle is the top of a sarcophagus, which some authorities say is the one in which Cecilia was first interred, while others say there is no reason whatever for thinking this. Another sarcophagus with busts of a husband and wife is of the time of Trajan or Hadrian (A.D. 98-138) ; a fine one has reliefs which have been described as Atalanta, Meleager and the Dioscuri in the middle, huntsmen on the right, and youths pouring out wine, etc., on the left ; it probably dates from the third century.

Passing out of the museum, we see on the right a pillar standing at a lower level and on the left a wall of tufa blocks and a pier of tufa ; these belonged to the Republican house ; the Minerva in the little shrine is an archaic one, the reliefs on

[1] It should be noted that all roofs here are modern ; they and some of the pilasters have been plastered and painted to distinguish them from the original work.

each side are of classical date. Here also are a fine bust of Plato and a collection of brick-stamps.

Returning to the nave and passing three holy water stoups, of which the first has lovely and delicate work on the base, the third being decorated with fronds of hartstongue fern, we come to (left) a room with ten vats sunk in the floor ; these are lined with most beautiful brickwork and must date from a very early period.

Going through a room which lies under the portico, we ascend the stairs into the church. Around the staircase are some fine fragments of the ambones and choir screen, which are evidently of the twelfth century, as no gold was used at that period, and also a beautiful eleventh century fluted column.

We are now at the bottom of the left aisle ; on our right is the tomb of Cardinal Fortiguerra, by Mino da Fiesole and Giovanni Dalmata. On the other side of the main door is the very beautiful one of Cardinal Adam, of Hertford (by Magister Paulus), one of the six cardinals ill-treated by the inhuman Urban VI, and imprisoned in a cistern in 1385, being accused of conspiring against his life. Adam was the only one who escaped when the others were put to death in Genoa, this being due to the interference of the English king, Richard II. Further on, at the end of the right aisle is Cecilia's bath at a slightly lower level ; some of the pipes are still visible.

We now go to the top of the church and look at the exquisite statue of Cecilia made at the order of Sfondrato by Stefano Maderno (1576-1636) which has been justly called " a masterpiece of tenderness and pathos," and also, it might be added, of technique. Beneath it the artist has placed the words, " En tibi sanctissimae virginis Caeciliae imaginem quam ipse integram in sepulchrhro jacentem vidi, eandem tibi prorsus eodem corporis situ hoc marmore expressi " (" Behold the image of the most holy virgin Cecilia, whom I myself saw lying incorrupt in her tomb. I have in this marble expressed for thee the same saint in the very same posture of body ").

Over it stands the very attractive ciborium of Arnolfo di Cambio ; an uncommon detail is a man on horseback on the capital of the hind pillar on the left. The signature is on the foot of the front right pillar, on the side facing the church, but it is difficult to see it : " Hoc opus fecit Arnulphus anno domini MCCLXXXIII," the date being below his name.

Above this are the mosaics of Paschal I ; they show him with the square nimbus (as still living) and with a model of the church in his hands. The style is Byzantine, and Christ is represented " as bestowing the blessing in the Greek manner with third finger closed on the thumb " and first, second and fourth

fingers raised. One frequently reads that the mosaics with contemporary portraits of this pope show the same face ; this is certainly not the fact as regards those in Cecilia and Prassede. In the former he has a broad face and eyes and a pointed chin, in the latter a broad face, but longer and much fuller at the jaw and chin.

At the back of the church is a small cortile, whence one can see the beautiful string course which runs below the pediment of the apse and the fine corbels which, as stated above, come from some classic building.

The portico at the entrance and the campanile are of the twelfth century.

On leaving the former and turning to the right we find the door of the convent which was built by Paschal I. The cloister is charming and is surrounded by a wide arcade with pillars and a garden in the middle. On one side another arcade or loggia with big arches has been added ; the moulded brick forms a string course just above the little pillars of the arcade.

In the convent are some magnificent frescoes by Pietro Cavallini ; the Christ's head is quite wonderful. Ghiberti saw them in 1397 and mentions them ; he calls Pietro Cavallini " one of the greatest masters of his age." They were " probably executed about 1293. The fresco of the Last Judgment reveals Cavallini as a painter of the highest order, an artist whose style is founded upon an intelligent, independent study of the antique. The heads of the figures he paints reveal the influence of classical sculpture." We see here " the work, not of a scholar but of a master of Giotto, or at least of an older painter who powerfully influenced him in the most impressionable years of his life."[1]

SANTA MARIA IN TRASTEVERE

The Liber Pontificalis states that Julius I (337-52) built a basilica beyond the Tiber and that Celestine I (422-32) " dedicated the basilica of Julius and offered there after the Gothic fire a silver paten . . ."[2] This is one of the few allusions we possess to the damage done in 410 by the troops of Alaric.

Innocent II (1130-43) in great part rebuilt the church, and it remains essentially the same, though the work was not actually finished till the reign of Innocent III (1198-1216) and

[1] It is necessary to get permission to see these frescoes from the Sovrintendeza dei Monumenti.

[2] *Lib. Pont.* Julius I and Celestine I.

many changes have been effected since then. Despite the ugliness of many of these alterations, it is a very attractive church. It is a pity that the confession where lie SS. Cornelius and Calixtus has been closed, and that the ancient marble floor has been removed to make way for a modern one of opus Romanum, though the latter is a beautiful piece of work. The twenty-four splendid granite columns are said by some authorities to have come from one classic building, but the fact that they are of different sizes scarcely bears this out; the bases are wreathed with carving in an uncommon and very effective way.

The mosaic of the apse—Christ and the Virgin enthroned—were executed under Innocent II, who is represented (first figure on the left) holding a model of the basilica; Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider them particularly Roman in style, nevertheless the dress of the Virgin and her attitude recall the mosaics of Ravenna. Restorations were made under Clement XI and Pius IX. Below there is another very charming zone with scenes from the life of Christ and of the Virgin, which Vasari affirms to be by Pietro Cavallini,[1] and "Ghiberti, who was probably in Rome before 1400 mentions them in his list of Cavallini's works." In a third zone are a Virgin and Child with Peter and Paul, the former presenting the kneeling figure of Bertaldo Stefaneschi; near him is his escutcheon with the words "Bartolus Filius Pet . . . ."

In the left transept are two fine tombs and a rich and beautiful ciborium. On the right is the tomb of Cardinal Pietro Stefaneschi Annibaldi, who was made acolyte of the papal chapel, and apostolic notary at an early age; he was created cardinal by Innocent VII, in 1405. He with Cardinal Oddo Colonna mediated for peace between the pope and the Romans in the same year; he was left in Rome as Vicar-general when Gregory XII fled from the city in 1407; accompanied Louis of Anjou on his expedition to Naples as Cardinal Legate in 1411, and was again left in Rome as Vicar-general by John XXIII when the latter went to attend the Council of Constance in 1413. He agreed to the surrender of the city to Braccio Fortebraccio of Montone in 1417, was imprisoned in S. Angelo by Francesco Sforza, who had come to the assistance of Rome against Braccio, and very shortly after died there. His family were the greatest in the Trastevere, and to them S. Maria owed the mosaic of the Madonna in the Tribune mentioned above; the kneeling figure was major domo to Nicholas IV and probably the brother of Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi who commissioned Giotto to paint the Navicella.

[1] Bohn's Ed. I, 177.

The left-hand tomb is that of Cardinal Philip d'Alençon, and this and the ciborium are attributed to Magister Paulus. D' Alençon belonged to the House of Valois and was made Bishop of Beauvais at a very early age in 1359 and died in 1397.

In the right aisle is the very ugly tomb of Cardinal Francesco Armellini, noted for his avarice. It should also be noted to his credit that he was the only one of the princes of the Church who remained in Rome with Adrian VI during the fearful plague of 1522. It is said to have been by his advice that Clement VII dismissed most of his troops in 1527 in order to save money. At the entry of the Imperialists into the Borgo, Armellini was drawn up in a basket into Castel S. Angelo ; he died in the same year, broken-hearted at the loss of most of his wealth.

This church was invaded by the partisans of the anti-pope Felix II in 358, and Ursinus was elected here in 366 in opposition to Damasus (see S. Maria Maggiore).

On the façade is a mosaic of the twelfth century. Innocent II and another pope are represented by miniature figures on either side of the Virgin. Gregorovius says that when Desiderius built his church at Monte Cassino he brought mosaic workers from Byzantium and that the school of art thus founded at Monte Cassino probably had a considerable influence at Rome ; he thinks that artists from there may perhaps have worked on this mosaic.

At the very top of the campanile is a tiny shrine with a Madonna, just under the string course.

In the Piazza is a large fountain and on one side of it the Palazzo S. Callisto with an extremely picturesque courtyard. Here Cardinal Gasquet and his coadjutors are working at the great revised edition of the Vulgate.

PART III

CHAPTER XV

HISTORICAL SKETCH

In his Introduction to a translation of Livy, Canon Roberts very happily sums up the intense interest and value of Roman history. "It is," he says, "complete in itself, exhibiting all the stages of its evolution. The story is the story of an individual life; the vigorous infant passing successfully through all the diseases of infancy; childhood with its nascent consciousness of power; youth masterful and ambitious, winning its way to authority and dominion; manhood in the full maturity of its strength, exercising discipline and enforcing respect for its mandates, but also bearing within the secret seeds of disease; then the slow waning of vitality, the weakening of the power to control; finally the senile decay and the inevitable dissolution."

For the historian Rome is the pivot on which the ages turn; ancient history leads up to the City of the Seven Hills, modern history springs from her; she is, as Theodoric the Great expressed it, "everyone's country."[1]

It is true that the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for many of the elements of their civilisation, but they were able to spread abroad the culture they had learnt, and to weld the Roman world into one Empire by the "help of an art in which they were original and supreme—that of road making."

They had a deep sense of responsibility to subject nations, and in the opinion of Dionysius of Halicarnassus they raised themselves "by their humane reception of those who were destitute of a settlement, by the communication of the rights of citizens to all, who, after a brave resistance, had been conquered by them; by extending those rights to such as had been manumitted amongst them; and by disdaining no condition of men from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage. But above all, by the constitution of their government, which they formed out of the various misfortunes that befell them, extracting always something useful from every occur-

[1] Cass. *Var.* I, 39.

rence."[1] Plutarch, too, says, "there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered."[2]

Recent discoveries have shown that the site of Rome was populous in pre-historic times, and later on the hills appear to have been held by Latins, Etruscans and Sabines, possibly also by Greeks. The early part of their history is mainly legendary and it is impossible that seven kings, some of them mounting the throne late in life, should have reigned for the long period usually assigned to them; that there *were* kings is, I think, undoubtedly true; but only with the Republic can we begin the real history of Rome. One cannot, however, omit all mention of what has for so long been regarded as true, and some undoubted facts are recorded along with the legends of the kings.

B.C.

753 The traditional date for the foundation of the Latin settlement on the Palatine by Romulus and his followers from Alba Longa is 753, when the Quirinal and perhaps the Capitoline Hill were held by the Sabines. Their king, Titus Tatius, made a compact with Romulus, and the two nations assembled for business on the area afterwards known as the Comitium. After the death of Titus, the Latin king reigned alone and was succeeded
715 by a Sabine, Numa Pompilius, in 715. He in turn was
673 succeeded by a Latin, Tullius Hostilius, in 673; to whom
641 succeeded another Sabine, Ancus Martius. He was said to have conquered the surrounding Latin tribes, and to such as chose to settle in Rome he assigned Mount Aventine as a dwelling-place.[3]

[1] Diony. I, ix. This habit of theirs makes it very difficult to follow the growth and constitution of the Roman army. Changes were constantly being made as they learned from their enemies and from their own experience anything that seemed to them a betterment of their existing arrangements.

[2] Plut. *Lives* Romulus. Pope Leo I regarded the extension of the Roman Empire as part of a Divine scheme for spreading Christianity. "But that the result of this unspeakable Grace," he said, "might be spread abroad throughout the world, God's Providence made ready the Roman Empire, whose growth has reached such limits that the whole multitude of nations are brought into close connection. For the Divinely planned work particularly required that many kingdoms should be leagued together under one empire, so that the preaching of the word might quickly reach to all people, when they were held beneath the rule of one State." (*Sermons*, LXXXII, 2.)

[3] Livy I, xxxiii. Diony. III, xliv.

B.C. His successor, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, had been a
616 Lucomo or chief at Tarquinii in Etruria. He in turn was
578 followed by Servius Tullius, called by some a Latin, by others an Etruscan. He made many institutions for the benefit of the people and endeavoured to form an enduring alliance of the whole Latin race. The tablet on which the charter of confederation was engraved still existed in the time of Dionysius.[1] He was murdered by his son-in-law, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus
534 (the son of Tarquinius Priscus), who now ascended the throne, and made foreign alliances by which he hoped to
509 support his despotic rule at home. But in 509 he was expelled, and from this year dates the Republic or Commonwealth of Rome. The two first consuls, or, as they were then called, praetors were Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus; from now onwards the list of consuls seems to have been regularly kept.[2]

The ex-king made several attempts to regain his position, and during the third, appealed for help to
508 Lars Porsenna of Clusium, who encamped on the Janiculum and was—according to tradition—repulsed in his attack on Rome by Horatius Cocles and his friends;
507 as a matter-of-fact he appears to have taken the city, though Tarquin was compelled to retire to Tusculum.

502 In 502, fearing a war with the Latins, the Romans elected a dictator. Titus Lartius was the first who held this office, of whom Dionysius says that his satisfactory conduct "was emulated by all his successors in the same power till the third generation before this; for we find no instance of any of them in history who did not use it with moderation and as became a citizen . . . . But in the time of our fathers, full four hundred years after the dictatorship of Titus Lartius, this magistracy became obnoxious and odious to all who were under Cornelius Sulla, the first and only dictator who exercised his power with severity and cruelty."[3] His services were, however, not needed against the Latins, who did not
496 declare war until some years later, when Aulus Postumius became dictator and won the battle of Lake Regillus (see Forum Romanum).

Then ensued prolonged struggles between the orders,

[1] *Ibid* IV, xxvi.

[2] A good deal of legend still continues to mix with the real history of Rome.

[3] Diony. V, lxxvii.

B.C. and constant wars with neighbouring cities which it
451 is impossible to follow here. In 451 a Decemvirate or Council of Ten was appointed, and they drew up a code of laws—known as the Ten Tables—which was to apply to both orders without distinction. Next year two more tables were added to the code—now called that of the Twelve Tables. The Decemvirate did not last long,
420 and the dissensions of patricians and plebeians continued. In 420 the consulship was suspended for a time, and military tribunes with consular authority were elected ;
419 the next year saw the appointment of two other officers, the censors.

396 In 396 Veii was taken by Marcus Furius Camillus, who killed or sold the inhabitants and left the town empty. But his behaviour about the spoils made him extremely unpopular, and the feeling was increased by the pride and pomp with which he celebrated his triumph, for he "rode through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which no general ever did before or after him."[1] He left the city and "in deep grief went into exile in
391 the city of Ardea, praying the prayer of Achilles, that the time might come when the Romans would long for Camillus."[2] In this same year Marcus Caedicius, a plebeian, announced to the tribunes that in the Nova Via he had heard in the silence of the night a voice louder than that of a human being, which ordered the magistrates to be told that the Gauls were approaching. This warning was disregarded, but the next year
390 the Gauls came in sober truth. Under their chief, Brennus, they defeated the Romans on the Allia and then marched on Rome. The able-bodied men in the city fortified themselves on the Capitol and the Citadel, the mass of the inhabitants poured out of the city, many taking refuge at Veii, and the old men who had held curule offices redonned their splendid robes, seated themselves in ivory chairs, and, led by M. Fabius, Pontifex Maximus, recited a solemn formula in which they devoted themselves to death for their country and the Quirites.[3]

The Gauls entered by the Colline Gate, which stood open, and at first feared some stratagem, so appalling was the desolation. Brennus, entering the Forum, was

[1] So says Plutarch. *Camillus* Dio states that Caesar used white horses in his triumph of B.C. 46 (XLIII, 14).
[2] Appian II, viii, 2 (Peiresc).
[3] Livy V, xxxix-xli.

struck with " amazement at the sight of so many men seated in great state and silence, who neither rose up at the approach of their enemies nor changed countenance or colour, but leaned upon their staves and sat looking upon each other without fear or concern. The Gauls, astonished at so surprising a spectacle, and regarding them as superior beings, for a long time were afraid to approach or touch them. At last one of them ventured to go near Manius Papirius, and advancing his hand, gently stroked his beard, which was very long ; upon which Papirius struck him on the head with his staff."[1] This was the signal for the slaughter of all who came in the barbarians' way, and for a complete sack of the city ; after which they sat down to besiege the Capitol. Meanwhile Camillus had emerged from Ardea and made a successful attack on one of the enemy's camps. The fugitives gathered at Veii wished to make him dictator, and that all might be according to law, a soldier passed the Tiber on corks, scaled the rock of the Capitol and returned with the assent of such senators as were there.

Brennus, having failed in his siege, offered to ransom the city, and while the gold was being weighed out, threw his sword into the scales, crying : " Woe to the vanquished." At this moment Camillus entered the Forum and exclaimed that it was with iron and not with gold that he would redeem Rome. Then he drove the Gauls away and, " so completely destroyed their host that not a man was left to carry home news of the calamity." Such was the legend, but the withdrawal of the barbarians was probably voluntary. Polybius tells us that a " circumstance intervened which recalled them home, an invasion, that is to say, of their territory by the Veneti."[2] He states that the Gauls did not take the Capitol, but there seems reason to think that even this fortress fell into their hands. That the city was sacked may be regarded as sufficiently proved.

The tribunes now tried to persuade the people to leave their ruined homes and migrate to Veii, which stood empty. Camillus opposed this motion in a passionate speech, and an omen occurring in favour of his opinion, it was decided that Rome should be rebuilt. This was done in a most haphazard way ; the citizens were to complete their houses within a year, and in their haste, says Livy, " they took no trouble to plan out

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Camillus*.
[2] Polybius *Hist.* II, xviii, 3.

B.C. straight streets; as all distinctions of ownership in the soil were lost, they built on any ground that happened to be vacant. That is the reason why the old sewers, which originally were carried under public ground, now run everywhere under private houses, and why the conformation of the city resembles one casually built upon by settlers rather than one regularly planned out."[1] Camillus restored the temples of the gods and built one to Aius Locutius, the speaker or warner, whose voice had been heard by Marcus Caedicius[2]; having saved the city a third time, his work was done and he died of
365 pestilence, the greatest of the Romans till we come to Julius Caesar. "An exceptional man in every change of fortune; before he went into exile, foremost in peace and war, rendered still more illustrious when actually in exile by the regret which the State felt for his loss, and the eagerness with which, after its capture, it implored his assistance, and quite as much so by the success with which, after being restored to his country, he restored his country's fortunes, together with his own."[3] From now onwards the "annals of Rome are complete without a break," and we enter on a splendid period in which "this single city conquered first all Italy,[4] and then all the civilised countries of the known world. The golden age of the Republic is considered to have been the time reaching from the First Samnite War to the close of the Second Punic War, 343-201, and it was so considered by the Romans themselves."

343 The First Samnite War lasted from 343-341; the
340 Great Latin War from 340-338; the Second or Great
326 Samnite War from 326-304; and the Third from 298-
298 290.[5]

280 In 280 the Romans had for the first time to face the

[1] Livy V, lv. This was the city that was burnt under Nero.

[2] Plutarch, *Camillus.*

[3] Livy VII, i.

[4] It must be remembered that not until nearly the close of the Republic did the term Italy include the greater part of the peninsula. In remote times it only designated the southernmost part—Lower Calabria—and gradually embraced more and more, till, at about the time of the Punic Wars its northern boundary seems to have been the Esino (north of Ancona) and the Arno; by Caesar's time the Rubicon and the Magra had taken their places. When we speak of Italy in the Roman sense we must dismiss from our minds all thoughts of Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria—nearly equivalent to Emilia, Venetia, Lombardy and Piedmont.

[5] In this war L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus took part, "the first notable man of a great name." His sarcophagus still exists and is in the Vatican museum.

B.C. shock of the Greek phalanx, for the people of Tarentum had called upon Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, for aid against their foes. He first met the Romans at Heraclea and was victorious, but at such a cost that he exclaimed: "Another victory like this will send me back to Epirus without a man." And when he offered a portion of the spoils in the temple of Jupiter at Tarentum, he placed upon them this inscription;

"Those who had ne'er been vanquished yet, great Father of Olympus,
These have I vanquished in the fight, and they have vanquished me."

He endeavoured to negotiate a peace with Rome and the Senate were inclined to agree; but Appius Claudius the censor,[1] blind, and in extreme old age, caused himself to be led to the senate-house and insisted that Rome must not treat of peace with Pyrrhus until he had quitted the shores of Italy. "I was grieved," he said, "at the loss of my sight; now I regret that I did not lose my hearing also, for never did I expect to see and hear deliberations of this kind from you. Have you become so forgetful of yourselves all of a sudden, by reason of your misfortune, as to take the man who brought it upon you and those who called him hither, for friends instead of enemies, and to give back to the Lucanians and Bruttians the property that your ancestors took from them? What is this but making the Romans servants of the Macedonians? And some of you dare to call this peace instead of servitude."[2]

Pyrrhus having failed to negotiate, decided to try what effect might be produced by the presence of his army in Latium, and advanced by the Via Latina; he received the submission of Anagni, was perhaps admitted into the citadel of Palestrina, and went six miles beyond it in the direction of the capital. But his own army was small, the lavish promises of men and provisions made by the southern Italians had not been fulfilled, and he found his position so critical that he was forced to withdraw. A fresh attempt at negotiation
279 fell through, and though he won another battle in Apulia, it was at heavy cost, and he seized the first opportunity given him of making an honourable peace. This was
278 afforded early in 278, when the consuls sent him warning

[1] The man who made the Via Appia.
[2] Appian III, x, 2. Excerpt from "*The Embassies.*"

B.C. that his physician had offered to poison him. Pyrrhus returned his warmest thanks, sent back all his prisoners fresh-clothed and without ransoms,[1] and told his allies that he should accept an invitation just received to take command of a Sicilian-Greek army against the Carthaginians and Mamertines. In 276 he was asked to return to southern Italy, which he did; but having been completely defeated at Beneventum by Manius Curius Dentatus, he left Italy for ever.[2]

276

275

A few years after the defeat at Beneventum this man, who had passed his whole life fighting, was killed by a tile thrown from the roof of a house by a woman during the siege of Argos.

It has been said that, with all his kingly qualities, Pyrrhus was only fit to be a captain of Condottieri. But surely no one of the Condottieri approached him as a general, or showed the consummate skill he did "in all his operations, in assembling and organising his armies, in his marches, in his encampments, and the disposition of his troops on the field of battle, and especially in his own conduct during the period of actual conflict."

It may be admitted at once that he had no great interest in anything but war; that he was lacking in patience in face of difficulties; that he was ready to obey the summons to any field that promised a new excitement; that he was always making new beginnings and never reaching any ends. It was the misfortune of his life that he had no settled plan or purpose and that his great powers produced no permanent effects. Nevertheless, he was a big personality; a man of great parts, of indomitable courage and energy; generous, amiable and gentle; considerate to his soldiers, who adored him; kind to his prisoners, tall and handsome, of courteous manners, very strong and dexterous in all martial exercises; magnanimous to his personal enemies and allowing freedom of speech even about himself. Of the last characteristic a nice story is told by Dio.[3] Some men were brought before him accused of uttering personal abuse when half intoxicated. "Is this true?" asked the king. "It is," replied the men, "and if we had had more wine, we should have said things a great deal worse." He only laughed and dismissed them.

[1] The Romans in return sent him back all the prisoners they had taken.
[2] Curius devoted the spoils to the building of the aqueduct Anio Vetus.
[3] Dio. X, 47.

B.C.
263 The First Punic War began in 263 and lasted to 241. It may be divided into three periods ; the first reaching to 257, in which the Romans were generally successful ;
256 the second, a time of mingled success and failure, beginning with the invasion of Africa by M. Attilius
250 Regulus and ending with his death in 250 ; the third stretching to 241 in which the Romans slowly retrieved their losses and concluded with a victory at sea. At the beginning of this period they had suffered a bad naval defeat at Drepana under P. Claudius, because, thought his men, he had fought in defiance of the omens. In vain the pullarius warned him that the sacred chickens would not feed. "Then let them drink," replied the
241 irreverent consul, and hurled them into the sea. In 241 peace was concluded with Carthage.

218 The Second Punic War, which lasted from 218 to 201 was regarded by the Romans as the most critical period of their whole history,[1] and it is certainly one of the most interesting. It had the great good fortune to find a historian who was born a few years after its commencement, who was curiously well placed to collect trustworthy materials, and who had opportunities of communicating with many of the chief actors therein. Polybius went to Rome in 168, was there for many years, and was with P. Cornelius Scipio at the final destruction of Carthage, in 146.

The war may be divided into four periods ; the first comprehends Hannibal's passage of the Alps and the battles of the Trebbia, Thrasymene and Cannae ; during the second the Romans took Syracuse, regained Capua and lost Tarentum ; in the third, Hannibal, having to wait for support from home, confined himself more and more to the mountainous districts of Calabria ; and Hasdrubal, bringing reinforcements, was defeated and slain on the Metaurus ; the last period saw Hannibal at bay in southern Italy, while the main scene of war was shifted from that country to Spain and Africa, and
202 ended with the Carthaginian defeat at Zama in 202.[2]

Between this date and 133 the Romans extended their conquests far and wide. Greece became a Roman
146 province in 146 and in the same year Carthage was
133 destroyed. After 133 Rome was paramount in the four great peninsulas of the Mediterranean and the

[1] Livy says that the Carthagenian War was "the greatest and most serious that the Romans had ever waged." *Hist. of Rome*, XXXVIII, liii

[2] See Appendix I.

B.C. principal islands, while her influence was "recognised at almost every point along its far-reaching coast line. Italy was either 'Roman soil' or was placed under the ultimate control of the praetors and other magistrates of Rome. Spain, Greece and Asia Minor were reduced substantially to the form of provinces." Another province was constituted in Africa, comprising the once dominions of Carthage, and the kingdoms of Numidia and Egypt were in a state of dependence. From this time onward the great interest of Roman history centres in her attempts to perform two tasks, to govern efficiently her subject peoples, and to protect them from the barbarian races by which they were surrounded on all sides. From the destruction of Carthage to the time of Caesar was a period of revolution. The constitution of the Republic was in form a moderate democracy, but in practice it had become an oligarchy. The first systematic attack upon the senatorial government is connected with the names of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus and the political conflict they provoked ended only with the dictatorship of Julius Caesar.

112 In 112 war was declared against Jugurtha, king of Numidia, and in 107 Caius Marius was put in command against him with L. Cornelius Sulla as his quaestor. Jugurtha was captured the following year, reserved
104 till 104 to grace the triumph of Marius and then thrust naked into the Tullianum prison, where he perished.

102 In 102 Marius defeated the Teutons with great slaughter at Aquae Sextiae[1] in a battle which lasted for
101 three days, and the following year was sent against the Cimbri and the Helvetii, who had agreed with the Teutons that they should enter Italy by the Brenner Pass. The Romans offered them battle, but they refused, saying that they were awaiting their allies the Teutons, and demanding lands for both. Marius replied that their allies had all the land they needed on the other side of the Alps, and had it in perpetuity.[2] The barbarians were forced to fight on the plains of Vercellae and their annihilation was complete. "The remembrance of the Cimbric invasion, the last great terror that fell on Rome till the period of her decrepitude, was long impressed on the mind of the people." In
96 the year 96, Ptolemy of Egypt bequeathed his kingdom to Rome.

[1] Aix in Provence.
[2] Plut. *Life of Caius Marius.*

B.C.
90 Sulla gained the chief laurels in the social war between Rome and the Marsians and their confederates.

88 Civil war broke out in the year 88. Sulla as champion of the nobles entered Rome at the head of his legions (the first time that a Roman consul had ever done such a thing), while Marius, whom the populace had welcomed as their leader, fled to Africa.[1]

87 Sulla having gone to Asia to prosecute a war against Mithridates, king of Pontus, Marius returned to Rome with L. Cornelius Cinna and took his revenge in a terrible
84 massacre ; the next year he died, and Cinna ruled alone till his death in 84.

83 The next year Sulla came back to Italy, defeated the younger Marius and his friends, instituted a series of proscriptions and massacres and caused himself to be nominated dictator, leaving the legislative power, however, largely in the hands of a few great families, causing much bitterness to those who were excluded.[2] He settled the State in the interests of the optimates and regarded the popular faction as an enemy he had conquered ; in this party the knights as a class had been the most conspicuous. Though still Republican in form, the government was now in fact a close oligarchy, and Sulla's laws had taken all real power from the tribes.

79 In 79 he resigned the dictatorship and the following year he died.

From this time onward a great change took place ; the senatorial and popular factions " were no longer sharply distinguished by the position and origin of their respective members. The interests of party were no longer identified with those of class " ; individuals were found to fluctuate reciprocally from one side to the other ; public interests served as a cloak for private ambition ; and the final decision on all points lay with the holder of the military authority. Cnaeus Pompeius, who by his exploits in the field had already gained the name of Magnus affected to hold the balance between the two parties.

[1] Cicero speaks of Marius' distress at having to go into exile. " I heard him say that he had been miserable when he was deprived of his country, which he had delivered from siege."—Cic. *Orat.* after his Return, II, 8.

[2] It is obviously impossible to follow the complicated politics of this period in an epitome, but it is so interesting that I have tried to give a vivid impression by quoting copiously from Livy, Dionysius, Appian, Dio, Suetonius, Caesar, Sallust, Cicero and Plutarch, and from letters written by Pompey, Caesar, Cicero, Mark Antony, Marcus Brutus, Cassius, Decimus Brutus, Sulpicius Galba, etc.

B.C. After Sulla's death M. Aemilius Lepidus promised the popular party to rescind his acts but he was defeated near the Milvian Bridge by L. Catulus and Pompey. This did not, however end the struggle which was carried on for some years in Spain by Q. Sertorius.

74 The Third or Great Mithridatic War broke out in 74.

73 In 73 began an insurrection under the gladiator Spartacus, which gained formidable proportions and

71 was not suppressed until 71.

70 In 70 Pompey and P. Licinius Crassus entered on their memorable consulship, in which their first aim was to secure the popular favour. The nobles had to a great extent yielded to Pompey's influence, but they now feared his reforms, and under Catalus and Lucullus tried but in vain to resist his measures for restoring the prerogative of the tribunes; the popular party was vigorously supported by the youthful Julius Caesar,[1] but the rising orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero, did not approve of the increase of the tribunician power. Nevertheless, at this moment he was frankly antagonistic to the wasteful and luxurious nobles, and in his prosecution of C. Verres for malversation in Sicily he furnished information which "will condemn the oligarchy to the end of time." Till later in life, however, Cicero does not seem to have taken much interest in party politics, but to have used all his abilities and energies to forward his own career as an advocate. Socially of the equestrian class and with what we may call an equestrian consciousness, he was directed in his preparation for life by some of the aristocracy and seems to have consistently striven for his own advancement.

Pompey[2] struck another blow at the Senate by insisting that the censors should again review the list of members, when sixty-four were degraded as inadequate in fortune or unworthy in character; the whole body was made to feel that it was the instrument of the commonwealth and not its master.

But though Pompey posed as the champion of the people, he gradually alienated his admirers by the coldness and arrogance of his behaviour, and presently thought it necessary to revive their enthusiasm by some new exploit. Through the power of the tribunes he

67 was given—despite the resistance of the Senate—

[1] According to Dionysius, Caesar came from a patrician family of Alba Longa, the Julii, who (also according to Dionysius) were of Trojan race.

[2] It has also been said that Catalus took this measure.

B.C. absolute power over the Mediterranean and its coasts for fifty miles inwards, with a view to crushing the pirates who, by stopping the corn ships, endangered the very life of Rome. Caesar supported Pompey in this matter; one could hardly be popular and do otherwise; and he was also anxious to detach Pompey entirely from the Senate and to obtain his absence from Rome, so that he himself might intrigue with the people.

Pompey's measures against the pirates were entirely successful and he became the idol of the popular side.

66 In 66 enormous powers were conferred on Pompey by the Manilian law for the destruction of the King of Pontus, though the might of Mithridates had already been largely broken by Lucullus. The Optimates as a body were passionately opposed to this measure, and Cicero, who supported it, has been called faithless to his political convictions. It must be remembered that he had not yet attained to a definite and consistent public policy, and it was not till later that he became the "eloquent defender of property and social order as well as the champion of the primacy of the Senate."

Caesar and Crassus smiled on the arrangement, the people supported it, and even among the nobles there were some—among them M. Porcius Cato—who were glad to get rid at any price of the presence of a man whom they suspected, for it was rumoured that Pompey proposed to make himself military chief of Rome.

Though he was still absent, he and Caesar and Crassus were all working for the same end—the abasement of the old governing party—and they gained the assistance of Cicero, who hoped, by giving it, to attach Pompey to his interests.

During the latter's absence Caesar stepped into the front rank of politicians and became the leader of the old Marian party.

The discontent which had existed ever since Sulla's death among his creatures (now become obscure), among the families of those whom he had proscribed (and were thus deprived of their civil rights), and among the young nobles who were excluded by the Senate from all share in the government, now came to a head and found a leader in Lucius Sergius Catalina. This man first appears in history during the proscription of Sulla, when he killed with his own hand and with awful barbarity Marius Gratidianus[1]; he had been a proctor

[1] Quintus Cicero describes the scene in a way that could only be done by an eye-witness,

B.C. and also governor of Africa, where his tenure was marked by many crimes. His candidature for the consulship was forbidden by the Senate on the ground that an indictment for extortion had been laid against him,
65 and in his irritation he planned a revolution, which, however, failed. This was known as Catiline's First Conspiracy.

64 In 64 he was acquitted on the score of extortion and became a candidate for the consulship of the following year. The senators were aware that another conspiracy was brewing, and some of them were disposed to regard the coming storm with satisfaction; too much power had lately been in Pompey's hands, and they would show him that they could save the State without him. Cicero was also standing for the consulship, and to keep out Catiline, whom they feared, the Senate favoured Cicero, whom they disliked. His canvass was understood to be in harmony with Pompey's aims, and the aristocracy had not forgotten the support given by the orator to the ambitious schemes of the soldier; the former, too, was identified with the equestrian class. But he had grown in general esteem, he had not very strongly attached himself to any faction or party, he was believed to desire a good working understanding between the Senate and the knights, and the senators hoped that, once in the consular office, they would secure his zeal and abilities for the work they contemplated—namely, the restoration of their own ascendancy.

At this time Cicero's drift was towards peace and compromise; he hated all extremes and equally disliked Sulla and the Gracchi, and these views he held through life, though at times expediency and a not too great courage prevented him from acting up to them.

63 In 63 Cicero entered upon his consulship with Caius Antonius as his colleague, a man who, says Plutarch, "had no firm principles either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him."

Various new measures were proposed, mostly in the interests of the oligarchy, but Cicero made an earnest effort to prune away one of their privileges—that of the free legations—which was a great tax upon the provincials. But the incident which made Cicero's name as a statesman was Catiline's Second Conspiracy. His handling of this matter carried him to the height of his fortunes and dashed the ambitious hopes of Caesar,

B.C. who during Pompey's absence had been coming more and more to the front. He was accused, probably unjustly, of being in touch with the conspirators. But the conspiracy was not the work of the popular party or an honest attempt at reform ; it was an endeavour on the part of Catiline to retrieve his own broken fortunes and it was easy to get other malcontents to join in his plans.

Suspicions and brooding fears had for some time disturbed the conservatives of Rome. In October,
63 63 (our December, 63) Cicero warned the Senate of impending danger. He had taken into his pay Fulvia, mistress to Curio, a friend of Catiline's, and was thus kept fully informed of the conspirators' plans. Having discovered a plot instigated by Catiline to kill him in his own house, Cicero convoked the Senate on November 7th in the temple of Jupiter Stator, " which stands at the entrance of the Via Sacra in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make a defence ; but there was not a senator who would sit by him ; they all left the bench he had taken, and when he began to speak they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard. At length Cicero rose up and commanded him to depart the city ; ' for,' said he, ' while I employ only words and you weapons there should at least be walls between us.' "[1]

The consul had probably so far no evidence which would have ensured Catiline's condemnation by a Roman jury, and his object in this speech was to drive the conspirator to the camp of Manlius and so to open rebellion.[2] " ' O Catiline,' he cried, ' continue as you have begun. Leave the city at last ; the gates are open ; depart. The Manlian camp of yours has been waiting too long for you, its general. Among us you can dwell no longer—I will not bear it, I will not permit it, I will not tolerate it. Great thanks are due to the immortal gods, and to this very Jupiter Stator, in whose temple we are, that we have already so often escaped so foul, so horrible and so deadly an enemy to the Republic.' When Cicero had

[1] Plutarch. *Life of Cicero.*

[2] Sallust, who was a contemporary of these events, says that this, the First Oration against Catiline, was afterwards written out and published (Sall. *Cataline,* XXXI). The words " quam postea scriptum edidit " point to the extensive alterations made by Cicero in his speeches prior to their publication which greatly detract from their value as historical documents. Manlius, an old centurion, had been sent by the conspirators into Etruria to levy troops.

B.C. finished and Catiline's reply had been cut short by cries of ' Enemy ' and ' Traitor ' the latter, furious with rage, exclaimed : ' Since I am beset and driven to destruction by my foes, I will quench in a general ruin the fire that surrounds me.' With these words he dashed out of the senate-house and hurried to his home. At dead of night he set out with a few companions for the camp of Manlius, leaving instructions to [C.] Cethegus, P. Lentulus [Sura] and the others whose readiness and daring he had tested, to use every possible means of increasing the strength of their party, of pushing forward the plots against the consul, and arranging for a massacre, a conflagration and the other horrors of war. He promised shortly to march against the city in person with a large army."[1]

Next morning Cicero assembled the people in the Forum and in his Second Oration against Catiline told them of his flight. The senator decreed the conspirator a public enemy, ordered Antonius to command the army destined to act against him, and committed to Cicero the care of the city.

At this moment direct evidence was obtained against the plotters. Envoys from the Allobroges were in Rome with petitions which had been coldly received by the Senate. Lentulus tried to engage their support, and at first they lent an ear to his proposals ; but afterwards they disclosed the matter to Cicero. They were directed to continue the intrigue, and thus obtained written orders to serve as credentials to their nation. On
62 their return journey in February, 62, they were arrested at the Milvian Bridge, together with one Volturcius, who carried lettters from Lentulus to Catiline, and their papers were delivered to the consul. He summoned the chief conspirators into his presence and they came, ignorant of what had happened. They were taken before the Senate, which was sitting in the temple of Concord, Cicero himself leading Lentulus by the hand, since none but a consul might put a praetor under restraint. This was on December 3rd, and after the conspirators had been confronted with their own letters and with the Allobroges, and the Senate had given their decree, Cicero went into the Forum and delivered his Third Oration against Catiline. " You see this day,

[1] Sall. *Con. of Cat.* XXXII. Cicero, in his Oration for L. Murena, reports these words as having been spoken some time before this. Sallust probably did not write his account till ten years or more after the event.

O Romans," he began, "the Republic and all your lives, your goods, your fortunes, your wives and children, this home of most illustrious empire, this most fortunate and beautiful city, by the great love of the immortal gods for you, by my labours and counsels and dangers snatched from fire and sword, and almost from the very jaws of fate, and preserved and restored to you." He related how he had consulted with the senators as to what should be done in the interest of the Republic, and "since," he said, "the decree of the Senate is not yet written out, I will relate to you from memory, O citizens, what it has decreed. First of all a vote of thanks to me is passed in the most honourable words, because the Republic has been delivered from the greatest dangers by my wisdom and valour and prudence." He continued that the principal conspirators were to be put into custody, and that a supplication to the gods had been decreed in his name; he pointed out that Catiline's abilities made him the more dangerous; and then, a burst of enthusiasm overriding for once his colossal vanity, he declared that it was Jupiter who had protected the city. "He determined that the Capitol should be safe, he saved these temples, he saved the city, he saved all of you."

"Meanwhile," says Sallust, "the commons, who, at first, in their eagerness for a revolution, were too favourable to the idea of war, now that the nature of the conspiracy was laid bare, experienced a revulsion of feeling. They cursed the designs of Catiline, exalted Cicero to heaven, and were as full of joy and gladness as though they had escaped from slavery. Any other outrage of war would rather have given them plunder than done them harm, but a conflagration they thought a ruthless and extravagant measure, and one fraught with misery to themselves, whose whole wealth consisted in articles of daily use and personal clothing."

On December 5th the Senate met again in the temple of Concord to decide the fate of the conspirators. Cicero was extremely anxious to obtain a verdict for capital punishment; the laws of the Republic might vest a consul with powers of life and death after the senators had passed an "ultimate decree"[1]; but the prerogative was a very unpopular one with the commons, and he desired to thrust the whole responsibility on to the assembly. Caesar spoke in favour of perpetual im-

[1] Senatus consultum ultimum.

B.C. prisonment and Cicero would hardly have carried his point had not Cato spoken strongly in the same sense. The motion was carried and the popular voice ratified the decision and gave to the consul the title of "Father of his country." He took care that the decree should be carried out at once, without formal trial or appeal. Sallust relates that Cicero, "thinking better to forestall the coming night, lest the interval should be used for any revolutionary movement, ordered the officers to make the necessary preparations for the execution. After posting guards at various points he personally conducted Lentulus to the prison, while the praetors did the same with the rest, and here they were strangled.

"By this time it grew late, and as Cicero passed through the Forum to go to his own house, the people did not now conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him the saviour and second founder of Rome.[2] The streets were illuminated with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors." And Cicero was "followed with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves in successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the Empire both by sea and land."

The instigator of this formidable conspiracy endeavoured to retreat into Cisalpine Gaul, but the passes were blocked, the pro-consul was behind ; it became necessary to fight or surrender, and Catiline, choosing the braver part, fell pierced with many wounds.

62 Cicero in his exultation made himself, says Plutarch, "burdensome and obnoxious to many not by any ill-action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself." He thought himself secure as the head of the party he had saved, but they still saw in him a political parvenu ; and Pompey, who was about to return from the East and on whose friendship he reckoned, disappointed him.

The Optimates, on their part, were very pleased that they had proved their capacity for managing the State, and felt that they could defy Pompey. At Cato's persuasion they broke that union with the equestrian order which had been the aim of Cicero's policy, and henceforward he inclined more to the senatorial order than to that of the knights ; he had been admitted into

[2] Camillus had been called this before him.

B.C. the highest ranks of the oligarchy, and his self-love forbade him to descend from that level.

61 The following year the great commander returned to Rome, and at his triumph showed the spoils taken from Mithridates. His conduct at first was studiously moderate ; he was not a politician, but wanted one or the other of the political parties to ratify his acts in Asia and to grant land to his veterans. In spite of Cicero's efforts, the jealousy of his (Pompey's) rivals threw him into the arms of what was still nominally the popular party.

60 In 60, Caesar, who had been in Further Spain, returned and allied himself with Pompey and Crassus in the First Triumvirate. The breach between the Senate and the equestrian class was complete. Cicero naïvely thought that he could cure Pompey and perhaps Caesar of their inclination for the Populares and that the former might become the head of the Optimates. He clung feverishly to him as a leader, but was not disposed to follow him into a coalition with Caesar. It was a wonderful achievement of the latter's to have reconciled political enemies as bitter as Pompey and Crassus, and the union of the three meant the co-operation of the factions amenable to each " ; but the Triumvirs were not sincere in their alliance, and each one worked for his own personal views.

59 The consulate of Julius Caesar in 59 was an epoch of grave importance in the history of the Republic, for it gave authoritative expression to the views of the popular party. He obtained confirmation of Pompey's acts, and brought forward an agrarian law which included the donating of land to the veterans ; this was resisted by the nobles and riots ensued. Cicero shrank from taking either side and retired to his villas.

58 The following year P. Clodius as tribune set to work to bring about the downfall of his personal enemy Cicero. He moved the people to interdict fire and water to whoever had put to death Roman citizens without an appeal to the tribunes, and though no one was named, Cicero and the Catiline conspirators were clearly in his mind. Caesar, who appears to have had a genuine liking for the orator, offered him a post in his province which was declined ; Pompey, knowing he was supported by the oligarchy, coldly refused his help, and Cicero, hoping to escape public condemnation, left the city ; but the resolution was carried, he was banished

B.C. 400 miles from Rome or beyond Italy, and his property was confiscated. His letters at this moment are painful reading, and he regretted not having committed suicide. "I hope I may see the day," he wrote to Atticus, "when I shall thank you for having compelled me to remain alive. At present I thoroughly repent it." In this year Caesar took up a five years' command in Illyricum and the Two Gauls.

57 The consuls for the new year insisted on Cicero's recall, declaring that the sentence had been illegal Pompey, whose disposition towards Clodius had suddenly changed, was favourable; and after seven months of sanguinary rioting the tribes voted with acclamation for the reversal of the sentence and Cicero made a triumphant return.

56 During Caesar's absence in Gaul the bands of the triumvirate had sensibly relaxed. In the winter months he went to Lucca on the southern limit of his province, where officials of every rank flocked to meet him. Here also Pompey and Grassus repaired, and the three patched up a reconciliation; through Caesar's influence his colleagues were to be elected consuls for the following year, Pompey having the provinces of Spain and Africa, and Crassus that of Syria; in return they were to assist Caesar to obtain—against the wishes of the Optimates—an extension of his own command for five years.

Cicero after his return from exile had striven vainly to reconstruct a solid constitutional party; he had hoped to detach Pompey from Caesar; but now that the Coalition seemed—for the moment—to be stronger than ever, the instinct of self-preservation dictated to him the wisdom of changing his politics. The Optimates were feeble and shifty, they had been ungrateful to him, his own restoration had depended mainly on the accord of Pompey and Caesar, the Coalition could not, he felt, be resisted without open violence; so, while in his soul deeply disliking it, he acquiesced in their policy.

55 During this year, Pompey, who should have gone to his province, remained in Rome, and everything depended or seemed to depend on him. Cicero took little part in politics, but kept up a courteous correspondence with Caesar, whom he could not help admiring, but never really liked.

B.C. In the course of this year the latter made his first invasion of Britain. Suetonius speaks of the Britain as "formerly unknown," but Caesar himself says, "neither does any one except merchants generally go thither, nor even to them was any portion known, except the sea-coasts and those parts which are opposite Gaul." He gives a picturesque little incident of the first attack when the Romans had to wade ashore in face of the enemy and were not showing their usual eagerness; "he who carried the eagle of the tenth legion, exclaimed, 'Leap, fellow-soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle to the enemy, I, for my part, will perform my duty to the commonwealth and to my general.' When he had said this with a loud voice, he leaped from the ship and proceeded to bear the eagle towards the enemy. Then our men, exhorting one another, that so great a disgrace should not be incurred all leaped from the ship." The story is particularly interesting as coming from the pen of "my general."

54 In 54 there was much talk of a dictatorship, Pompey of course to hold the office, and the idea was very unpopular. Even Cicero, who had a warm personal affection for Pompey, which, in spite of a good deal of captious language about him, he always retained[1]—even he was deeply distrustful of him at this juncture.

The following year Crassus was defeated and killed beyond the Euphrates, because, says Dionysius, he fought when the omens were unfavourable. "This happened in my own time." Pompey became more estranged from Caesar and made overtures to the nobles, who hailed him once more as champion of their interests; and the state of lawlessness in Rome was such that even strict constitutionalists like Cicero talked of the necessity of investing Pompey with extraordinary powers.

52 In 52 Pompey became sole consul, threw off all pretence of alliance with Caesar, and devoted himself without reserve to the party of the Optimates. He promised to wrest the pro-consular imperium[2] from Caesar, though quite determined never to relinquish it himself. The conqueror of the Gauls on his side had no intention of resigning the ensigns of military autho-

[1] Four years after Pompey's death he said, "even now that my tears have ceased to flow my grief remains deeply implanted in my heart."

[2] Empire, imperium = military sovereignty.

B.C. rity, and meant to return to Rome only as consul. During this year Cicero met Caesar at Ravenna and agreed to support a bill for allowing him to stand for the consulship in his absence, which was against the law.

51 The following year Cicero went as governor to Cilicia. The Senate decided by a large majority that Caesar should be recalled before his term of office was finished, but that Pompey should retain his powers. Curio, as tribune, remonstrated, the attitude of the people was alarming, the Senate gave way and demanded the resignation of both pro-consuls. The consul Marcellus urged Pompey to put himself at the head of all the troops in Italy, a position which was illegal, and Caesar

49 had now acquired an excuse for striking a blow. He sent Curio, who had joined him at Ravenna, to negotiate, the Senate refused to receive him, the tribunes stood by Caesar; he crossed the Rubicon[1] early in 49 and in sixty days was master of Italy.

As regards the justification of Caesar's revolt, it has been said that technically the right was upon his side; "but the situation was one in which it had become impossible for the lawful government to keep the law, and it was the irregular ambition of Caesar which had indirectly produced the situation," though the real moving causes of the great civil war lay deeper than the personal acts of individuals. "The fact is patent that everything had been long tending to monarchy at Rome, and that for the last eighty years the decay of ancient ideas, the obliteration of equal laws, and the disorganisation of government had combined to render such a consummation inevitable."

[1] Near Rimini, now called the Pisatello. This little river being the boundary of his province, it was not legal for him to cross it. "While he was hesitating," says Suetonius, "a person of noble mien was seen near, playing on the pipes. When some of the soldiers and among them some trumpeters gathered round to listen, he snatched a trumpet and sounding the advance with a piercing blast, crossed the river. Caesar called this an omen of the gods and followed." Appian says: "When his course brought him to the Rubicon, which forms the boundary line of Italy, he stopped, and while gazing at the stream revolved in his mind the evils that might result from his crossing it with arms. Recovering himself, he said to those who were present, 'My friends, stopping here will be the beginning of sorrows for me; crossing over will be such for all mankind.' Thereupon he crossed with a rush like one inspired, uttering the common phrase, 'Let the die be cast.'" Appian *Civil Wars* II, v, 35. The story of Caesar's hesitation has been doubted, but Plutarch states that Asinius Pollio was present, "and there is reason to believe that Plutarch and Appian drew from Pollio's history."

B.C. The moment Pompey heard that the Rubicon had been crossed, he marched straight out of the southern gate of Rome, calling on all good citizens to follow him; and in a short time the Appian Way was "crowded with a motley multitude, less incensed perhaps against the man from whom they fled than him who had neglected every precaution for their defence." Cicero, who had returned to Italy the previous autumn, wrote to Atticus, "In the name of fortune, what do *you* think of Pompey's plan? I mean in abandoning the city. There is a wonderfully strong feeling at his being in flight." Again, a few days later, "You ask me to be sure to let you know what Pompey is doing. I don't think he knows himself, certainly none of us do." And again, "How utterly incapable our general is, you yourself observe; and how devoid of any plan of campaign the facts are witness. For, to say nothing of other mistakes committed during the last ten years, could any terms be worse than such a flight? Nor indeed have I any idea what he contemplates doing, though I never cease asking him again and again by letter. Everyone agrees that he is in a state of abject alarm and agitation."[1]

There was a pretence of negotiations, but Pompey, encouraged by the defection of Caesar's best officer, Labienus, insisted that the rebel should lay down his arms; Caesar demanded that if one abdicated his command the other should do likewise. Arretium and other places received him, and Pompey soon showed that he contemplated the abandonment of Italy; many of his partisans broke into a storm of indignant remonstrance. Cicero, who had been ordered to raise levies at Capua, wrote to Atticus on February 8th, "As to our leader Cnaeus, what an inconceivably miserable spectacle. No courage, no plan, no force, no energy," adding on the 9th: "But I cannot find fault with him without sorrow, for whom I am in an agony of anxiety." On the 13th he wrote, "If there is war I am resolved to be with Pompey," and in a letter of the 15th to Pompey himself he says that there is nothing that he wishes more earnestly than to join him; but on the 23rd he tells

[1] Some authorities think that Cicero was mistaken about Pompey's action; that he had a well considered plan of going to the East and making that the base of his operations.

Atticus: "As to my remark[1] that I preferred defeat with Pompey to victory with those others, it is quite true; I do prefer it—but it is with the Pompey as he was then, or as I thought him. But with a Pompey who flies before he knows from whom he is flying, or whither, who has betrayed our party, who has abandoned his country and is about to abandon Italy, if I did prefer it, I have got my wish; I am defeated."

Meanwhile Caesar besieged Corfinum, which was defended by L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, one of the boldest of his party, but who "hated his leader and despised his policy, while his command to retreat he threw to the winds." He had urged Pompey to come to his assistance, but the latter wrote on the 16th and again on the 17th that he could not do this, as he did not feel great confidence in the legions who were with him, but strongly pressed Domitius to join him if possible. On the 21st the troops in Corfinum delivered the town and their commander to Caesar, who gave the latter his liberty.

Cicero, who on the 23rd had written, "There is only one thing left to complete our friend's [Pompey's] disgrace—failure to relieve Domitius," was disgusted. Shortly afterwards, however, he wrote to Pompey how much he wished he had never been separated from him as the roads were barred and he could not possibly catch him up.

Some time during February L. Cornelius Balbus, a trusted agent of Caesar's, wrote to Cicero, entreating him to try and reconcile the rival generals. "Believe me," he says, "Caesar will not only put himself in your hands, but will consider himself under the deepest obligation to you if you throw yourself into this task. I wish Pompey would do the same, but that he can, at this time of day, be induced to accept any terms is rather a matter of wishes than of hopes." On March 1st Caesar wrote to Balbus and C. Oppius, another of his agents: "I am very glad that your letter expressed such strong approval of what happened at Corfinum. I shall be glad to follow your advice, and all the more so that I had spontaneously resolved to display the greatest clemency and to do my best to reconcile Pompey. Let us try in this way if we can recover the affections of all parties and enjoy a lasting victory."

Balbus and Oppius advised Cicero not to take arms on

[1] This remark was made in a letter of the previous October.

either side, seeing the intimate relations he had had with both leaders, and three days later Balbus wrote that "your reputation and your duty cannot admit of your bearing arms against a man from whom you avow having received so much kindness." On March 7th Caesar wrote himself to Cicero from near Brundusium, though "in haste and on the march, after sending my legions in advance," and begged him, "as I feel sure that I shall be coming to the city walls before long,[1] that I may see you there to enable me to avail myself of your advice, influence, position and support of every kind."

In this month Pompey sailed from Brundusium after a skirmish in which the first blood of the civil war was shed. The Appian Way was again crowded with knights and senators, but this time their faces were towards the city; they had clamoured vainly to be led against Caesar, and now determined to remain neutral for the rest of the war. Pompey's plans were clear; he meant to "call on the servile nations of the East, to trample on the free citizens" of the West.

Cicero, now that his friend had fairly left Italy, was overcome with grief that he had not accompanied him. On the 11th he wrote to Atticus, "Pompey has crossed the sea with all the men he had with him.[2] The total is 30,000; besides the consuls, two tribunes of the plebs and the senators who were with him, all with wives and children. I was anxious and full of pain before; but now, when Pompey and the consuls have left Italy, I am not merely pained, I am burning with indignation. Believe me, I am really beside myself to think of the dishonour that I have brought upon myself. That I, in the first place, should not be with Pompey, whatever plan he has followed, nor, in the second place, with the loyalists, however imprudently managed their cause." And again on the 18th, "The one thing that torments me is that I did not follow Pompey. He forfeited my confidence and never ceased committing one blunder after another. The indecency of his flight and mismanagement put me off from my love for him; now love again rises, now my regret for him is more than I can bear." He went through months of misery and hesitation; he was swayed on one side by affection for Pompey, conviction that his was the patriotic side, fear of what would

[1] Having the imperium, Caesar could not constitutionally enter Rome.

[2] This was a false rumour; Pompey did not quit Italy till the 17th or 18th.

be said of himself by the Optimates generally and of what would happen to him if the Pompeians won; but he had strong motives for remaining where he was, one of them being downright dread of being on the losing side, and he genuinely hated civil war. Finally he decided that it would be best to join his friends in Greece, but this was not till June. On the 19th or 20th of March he wrote to Caesar, answering the letter inviting him to the city walls, and saying that if his object was peace, no one would more earnestly support him, adding rather fulsomely, "It is now a good number of years ago since I picked out you two [Caesar and Pompey] as the special objects of my political devotion, and—as you still are—of my warm personal affection."

Caesar entered Rome unattended, and took the treasure stored in the temple of Saturn with which to fulfil his engagements to his troops and to the citizens. Sardinia received his legions. Cato abandoned Sicily as soon as Curio appeared there, the latter then taking his troops to Africa, where he was, later on, killed, the province remaining Pompeian. Meanwhile, Caesar, leaving Lepidus as his lieutenant in Rome and Mark Antony in command in Italy, set out for Spain.

On the way (April 10th) he wrote to Cicero, whom he had met in Campania the previous month and who had refused to follow him to Rome: "Caesar imperator greets Cicero imperator.[1] Although I had come to the conclusion that you were not likely to do anything unadvisedly or imprudently, yet, being made anxious by common report, I thought that I ought to write and appeal to you, in the name of our mutual kindness, not to go anywhere now that fortune has declared in my favour, that you had not thought yourself bound to do even when it was still uncertain." At the end of April, Mark Antony wrote to Cicero in the same strain, saying: "I cannot believe that you are about to cross the sea; I want to convince you that no one is dearer to me than you are, except my Caesar, and that my conviction at the same time is that Caesar gives M. Cicero a very high place among his friends. Wherefore, my dear Cicero, I beg you not to take any compromising step."

Leaving a force to blockade Marsilia, which was held by the energetic Domitius, Caesar pushed on to Spain, where the Pompeian troops came over to his side; he returned to Marsilia which was surrendered to him

[1] Cicero had been acclaimed imperator by his troops in Cilicia.

B.C. (Domitius escaping) and here he learnt that the Romans had proclaimed him Dictator. When he reached Rome he caused himself to be nominated consul for the following year and laid down the dictatorship, after having performed the "solemn rites of the great Latin festival on the Alban Mount.[1] It was by this ceremony that the chief magistrate of the Republic was wont to invoke the divine favour before arming to encounter the national foes." The war had now assumed a personal character; the name of Senate and People had sunk into ominous oblivion. Caesar and Pompeius were now the exclusive watchwords of the contending parties; "even the children playing in the streets divided themselves into Caesarians and Pompeians."

Meanwhile Cicero had joined Pompey at his headquarters in Epirus, and soon admitted frankly that he wished he had never come; everywhere he perceived unreadiness and lack of preparation. Pompey had no great task for him to perform, and Cato told him plainly that he would have been more useful to his country and his friends if he had stayed in Italy.

In 48 Caesar carried his forces to Epirus. He tried
48 to come to terms with Pompey, but the latter would not hear his messenger. "What need have I," he said "of life or Rome, if the world shall think that I enjoy them by the bounty of Caesar?"[2] Pompey then went to Macedonia, Cicero and Cato remaining in Epirus; Caesar followed, but his adversary long refused to meet him, nor could his officers bring him into the field until Caesar threatened a flank movement that would have cut off his communications. The battle of Pharsalus—the most famous in Roman history—ended in a complete victory for the consul. Pompey seems to have lost all courage and judgment; he rode back to his camp, "retired into his tent in utter despair, yet anxiously awaiting the issue, and as soon," says Caesar, "as our men had forced the trenches, mounted his horse, and, stripping off his general's habit, went hastily out of the back gate of the camp and galloped with all speed to Larissa." From here he fled to Egypt, where he was murdered.[3]

[1] Monte Cavo.

[2] Caesar says he was "informed of these expressions by some persons who were present at the conversation."

[3] Caesar tells another little story of his favourite Tenth Legion at the battle of Pharsalus. One of them, Crastinus, a centurion of pre-eminent

B.C. Caesar followed by land and espoused the cause of Cleopatra in the civil troubles that were in progress. Meanwhile, he had again been nominated dictator by the Romans and appointed Mark Antony his master of the horse.

Cicero had been offered the command of the Pompeians after Pharsalus, but had refused to entangle himself further in the struggle, and now returned to Brundusium, not venturing to go to Rome.

47 In 47 Caesar went to Pontus to make war—which was finished in five days—against Pharnaces. "I came, I saw, I conquered," are said to have been the laconic words in which he announced his victory to the Senate. After this he returned home, and Cicero, who went with others to meet him, was cordially received. Caesar seems to have expressed a desire that the orator should go to Rome, which he did in October, but took very little part in political affairs.

46 The remains of Pompey's army, still very numerous, collected together in Africa, whither Caesar repaired and defeated them at Thapsus.[1] A cringing Senate now poured honours on his head, making him dictator for ten years and allowing him to *prefix* to his name the title of Imperator. He celebrated four triumphs over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Numidia, but none for Pharsalus; and then went to Spain in pursuit of the younger Cnaeus Pompeius, who had collected there a large number of adventurers and banditti. The struggle was prolonged for several months, and Caesar was reduced to great extremities before he at last gained a crowning victory

45 at Munda.[2]

After Caesar's death Antony obtained control of the

bravery, having called on his comrades to display every exertion in the battle, looked back at Caesar and said, "General, I will act in such a manner to-day that you will feel grateful to me living or dead." He kept his word, for his general expressed the highest approval of his conduct and says: "He lost his life through the wound of a sword in the mouth."

[1] Before this battle the enemy had the advantage in an engagement, and the Caesarians were flying, when the general himself came to their assistance; catching an ensign who was running away by the neck, Caesar turned him round and remarked, "Look on this side for the enemy."

[2] "Having ended the civil war, Caesar hastened to Rome, honoured and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honours were devised for his gratification, even such as were super-human . . . . He was proclaimed the Father of his Country, and chosen dictator for life and consul for ten years, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable."—Appian, *Civil Wars* II, xvi., 106. For the period from now up to Caesar's murder see Forum Romanum, Caesar's Temple, vol. I, p. 1

State, but another applicant to power was about to present himself. Caius Octavius, the inheritor of three-fourths of his great-uncle's property and his adopted son, who assumed the name of Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus, received promises of support from the legions quartered at Apollonia, where he was stationed. He reached Italy in April, and Cicero says on the 22nd that he had seen him at Puteoli and been treated with great respect and friendliness. He hoped to draw the boy—Octavius was still under nineteen—into the party of the Optimates, and though this prospect was dimmed by a glowing speech Octavius presently made in praise of Caesar, he did not give up all hope, as even as late as June he wrote: "He seems likely to be as well disposed to our heroes as I could wish."[1] Octavius had in reality no thought of permanent friendship with Caesar's murderers, and on the other hand was determined to maintain his rights against Antony.

Meanwhile Cicero continued to make a show of friendship for the latter, writing to him on April 20th: "There is no one I regard with warmer affection." He was also on good social terms with Hirtius, who (with Pansa) was consul-elect for 43, but he was very doubtful as to the line they would take.

In June, Antony took the province of Syria from Cassius and persuaded the tribes to grant it to Dolabella, and obtained for himself Macedonia with the legions Caesar had assembled at Apollonia, with a view to further conquests in the East. He had begun by looking slightingly on Octavius' pretensions, but the latter soon made friends at Rome, while he himself sunk in the esteem of the citizens. Meanwhile the activity of the Republicans was increasing; D. Brutus had gone to the Cisalpine, S. Pompeius had a powerful fleet off Gaul, the legions in Syria invited Cassius to join them at once, and Brutus resolved to call the patriots to arms in Greece and Macedonia.

About this time, apparently in July, Antony took a further step. He wished his brother Caius to govern Macedonia, while he himself had Cisapline Gaul; while one of the six Macedonian legions was to be left to guard that province, one was assigned to Dolabella and four were to join him in Italy. During the summer he issued a proclamation against the regicides, which they an-

[1] Cicero generally alludes to the the large number of armed men who murdered one unarmed man as heroes.

swered on August 4th, in a letter addressed to him by M. Brutus and C. Cassius. "By relying on arms," they write, "you cannot daunt us; for it is neither right nor fitting for us to allow our courage to be overborne by any danger, nor ought Antony to expect to tyrannize over those by whose action he is a free man," and they advise him to consider, not how long Caesar lived, but how briefly he had reigned.

The Senate met on September 1st, when Antony lavished abuse on Cicero for not being present; the orator had rather intended to keep out of party politics for the moment, but he was now drawn into the storm which finally brought him to the grave. On September 2nd, in the temple of Concord he pronounced the First Philippic, a comparatively mild statement of his case against Antony, who made a violent reply on the 19th. Cicero then wrote the terrible Second Philippic, which, however, was never spoken and was not published till later.

In October, Antony went to Brundusium to meet his four legions, found them in a state of mutiny and took very severe measures. Octavius, now in constant correspondence with Cicero, calling him his father and affecting to seek his advice, began to raise troops on his own authority and at his own cost among the veterans in Campania and addressed a manifesto to the Senate which recommended him to them as their champion. Cicero was mistrustful and suspicious of the youth, yet felt that if he were beaten Antony would become intolerable.

Such was the state of affairs in November, when the Second Philippic was probably produced; its effect was electrical; the Senate was moved to defy Antony, the consuls elect were fixed in their allegiance to the Republic, and Cicero gained a veritable triumph. His one object now was to crush Antony, and he worked with feverish energy in the cause.

On December 19th he spoke the Third Philippic in the Senate and the Fourth to the people, greatly extolling Octavius. Antony was already besieging D. Brutus in Mutina,[1] and Octavius offered to go to the relief of the latter; the Senate hesitated to accept the offer and to declare Antony a public enemy; the province had actually been assigned to him; he was not

[1] Now Modena.

B.C. without friends in the Senate, and negotiation was proposed.

On the 30th Cicero delivered the Fifth Philippic, in which he denounced the idea of treating with Antony. "With this man, O conscript fathers, we must wage war —war, I say, and that instantly." He wished a military command bestowed upon Octavius and declared his conviction that the Caesar was not an enemy of the regicides, that he had sacrificed his private enmities to the Republic.[1] But he was overruled and ambassadors were sent.

43 Early in 43 Hirtius took the field (Octavius relinquishing to him the forces he himself had raised), for though war had not been formally declared, it was felt best to put some weight behind the messengers of peace. The negotiations failed, Octavius went to the front and Pansa followed in March with fresh levies.

In the absence of the consuls, Cicero, putting aside his literary pursuits, devoted himself entirely to affairs of state; he breathed confidence into the desponding, levied contributions, and kept up a constant correspondence with the Republican chiefs in the provinces.

In March, Antony wrote from his camp at Mutina to Hirtius and Caesar; he expresses his joy that one of Julius Caesar's murderers had met his just fate,[2] and his regret that Dolabella should be adjudged a public enemy for his act; he says: "How painful it is that you, Aulus Hirtius, who were ennobled by the favours of Caesar and left by him in a position which surprises yourself—that you, young sir, who owe everything to his name—are acting in a way to sanction Dolabella's condemnation and to release this pestilent fellow [Decimus Brutus] from his state of siege. In order, I suppose, that Brutus and Cassius may be all-powerful .... You have got together an army of soldiers who are either legally mine or who have served their time .... For my part, I am resolved not to submit to the degradation of myself or my friends .... If the immortal gods, as I hope they will, aid me in my plain and honest course, I shall survive with satisfaction to myself, but if a different fate awaits me, I feel an anticipatory pleasure in the punishment which will befall you."

[1] Was Cicero simply deceiving himself, or had Octavius purposely deceived him?

[2] Trebonius had been killed in Asia by Dolabella under circumstances of the greatest cruelty.

Cicero read a copy of this letter to the Senate with a running commentary. He told Cassius that Decimus Brutus was at his last gasp in Mutina, but to Marcus Brutus he wrote that he was not excessively alarmed at the position. Marcus himself begged for money and men. Perhaps Pansa could send him some troops? Cicero replied that, on the contrary, Pansa wanted every man he could get.

On the approach of Hirtius and Octavius, Antony broke up his camp, leaving his brother to watch Mutina. Three months passed before Pansa came up with reinforcements, and an engagement took place on April 15th at Forum Gallorum between his men and the Antonians. Pansa was mortally wounded and his forces were giving way when Hirtius by a diversion in the rear forced Antony to draw off his troops. A graphic account was sent by Sulpicius Galba in a letter of the 16th addressed to Cicero. He usually commanded, he says, the Martian legion in Hirtius' army, but was for the moment with Pansa, having gone forward to hasten his arrival; Hirtius sent down the Martians to help, and it was their eagerness which brought on the action, "the rest of us were obliged to follow them, as we could not stop them." He finished by saying Antony had lost heavily "with two eagles and sixty colours; it is a great victory." Strangely enough, he makes no mention of the consul's wound.

News of the victory[1] created great enthusiasm in Rome, and Cicero wrote: "In very truth I reaped the most abundant harvest of my great labours and my many sleepless nights." He was escorted to the Capitol by a "concourse of people as great as our city can contain."

On April 27th another action was fought at Mutina; Hirtius was killed and the Antonians recovered some positions from which they had been driven, but the honours of the day rested with the Republicans, who were now under the command of Octavius, for Pansa died almost at this moment.

Antony at once broke up his camp and struck westward; he had already received underhand help from Lepidus and wished to join him in the Transalpine.

[1] The victories at Mutina were rather dubious ones. Cicero wrote later "if Antony is in such a position that he cannot be offered battle without risk, he appears to me not to have fled from Mutina, but merely to have changed the seat of war."

Decimus wrote to Cicero on April 29th that he was following in hot haste, but was retarded by want of cavalry and of money. He begs Cicero to send instructions to "that shiftiest of men, Lepidus," also to keep "Plancus[1] up to the mark who will—I hope— stick to the Republic, now that Antony has been defeated."

Octavius refused to aid Decimus in the pursuit of Antony; he had before this perceived that the nobles would gladly keep both him and his rival in check by playing one off against the other, and he probably contemplated the turn of fortune that would before long league them together for mutual defence. He let Antony know that he did not desire to crush him, and declared that he would never forgive the murderers of his adopted father. Suetonius says that he now deserted the party of the Optimates without hesitation. Plutarch puts the breach rather later. At any rate Cicero soon abandoned all hope of help from him, and exerted himself with gallant constancy in the republican cause, "though by this time," he wrote, "I am desperately weary."

Lepidus wrote on May 18th that he was determined to oppose the Antonians, and again on the 22nd to assure Cicero that if he had heard any detracting rumours about him, they were groundless. A week later he united his forces with Antony's!

The Senate had treated Octavius with neglect and rudeness, and refused his demand for the consulship. He was already in secret communication with Antony, and now marched on Rome. Some inefficient measures were taken against him, but many of the senators joined his camp. Cicero was the last to parley. Octavius taunted him with his slackness, he became alarmed, retired to Tusculum and disappeared from public life.

On September 22nd Octavius became consul, and the remnant of the senators—many had disappeared—heaped honours on him; Caesar's murderers were interdicted fire and water, and D. Brutus who had joined Plancus was commanded to surrender his forces. Plancus, who had never had the cause of the Republic at heart, now joined the stronger party carrying with him most of D. Brutus' troops.

Octavius now made overtures to Antony, and caused the Senate to rescind their decree against him and Lepidus. A conference between the three took place in

[1] L. Munatius Plancus, commanding in Gaul.

October near Bononia,[1] when they agreed to share the Empire between them; Antony was to have the Two Gauls, Lepidus the Two Spains with the Narbonnensis and Octavius Africa and the Islands, Italy itself and Rome were to be held in common, while the Eastern provinces were to be left to future decision when they should have been conquered from the liberators; Antony and Octavius were to continue the war, whilst Lepidus remained in Rome.

The Second Triumvirate was proclaimed on November 27th. Then followed what was, I imagine, the most cold-blooded proscription in history. The triumvirs made a list of all men's names whose death could be advantageous to any of them; when any of the three fixed on a man who was a friend of one of the others, he agreed to give up one of his own friends in exchange. Antony demanded the death of Cicero, and Octavius "to the horror of all time consented." Cicero had fled and taken ship near Formianum, but head-winds and sea-sickness drove him back.[2] Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, were sent to kill him; his slaves, partly by entreaty, partly by force had got him into a litter and were carrying him by secluded paths to the sea, when they were overtaken. The slaves offered to fight but the orator forbade them; "putting his left hand under his chin, as it was his custom to do," says Plutarch, "he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow."

In his later years Octavius said of Cicero, "he was a good citizen, who really loved his country." The statement, which would have come better from any other man, was a true one; he was a good citizen, and a good and kindly man. Few persons of any age are so well-known to us; in his correspondence he presents himself in the most vivid light as husband, father, brother, friend. We see his vanity, his weakness, his fears, his prejudice, his rancorous hatreds; as well as his noble ideals, his warm affections and admirations, his gratitude

[1] Bologna.

[2] A spot near Capua and Cajeta have both been given as the place of the murder.

B.C. for kindness shown him.[1] In an age of extortion he governed his province with justice and humanity; he was avid for honours, but abundantly willing, as Plutarch tells us, that others should have their share; his industry was as marvellous as his ideals were lofty; but it must be admitted that a desire for material success, a wish to be on the right side and sometimes an actual lack of courage, prevented him from always acting up to his convictions. On the other hand, we must remember that, when it came to the point, Cicero generally showed more resolution than his language allows us to expect.

As an orator and writer he stands in the front rank; as a statesman he has been judged differently by friends and foes, and with very contradictory judgments. In truth he was neither an aimless trimmer, nor a brilliant adventurer, nor yet an entirely disinterested champion of constitutional government. He was a conservative who disliked equally socialistic ideas and autocratic rule, who was in favour of an aristocratic form of government, but desired to widen the basis of the ruling class; who desired to soften the conflicting ideas of all parties, and who regarded almost any compromise as better than civil war.

Cicero is "the pen and mirror of a great transition in the political history of the Mediterranean world. He is the very recorder of an epoch, when the Roman Empire passed from the intolerable sway and the irresistible disintegration of the city-republic to a military monarchy."

Marcus Tullius Cicero was the last great republican—it was "the afternoon of the Ancient World."

42 The battle of Philippi, where Octavius and Antony defeated Brutus and Cassius destroyed the last hopes
40 of the Republican party[2]; and in 40 Antony took command of the Eastern half of the Roman world, Octavius of Italy and the West and Lepidus of Africa.

36 In 36 Octavius ejected Lepidus from his province, and
31 in 31 Antony, who had been "shocking Roman feeling

[1] Except in the case of Caesar, whose politics he so abominated that he forgot all his nobler qualities.

[2] Suetonius says that scarcely any of Caesar's murderers survived him more than three years or died a natural death. "Some were taken off by one accident, some by another. Part of them perished at sea, others fell in battle; and some slew themselves with the same poniard with which they had stabbed Caesar." Suet., *Julius Caesar*, LXXXIX. The last sentence refers to Brutus and Cassius, of whom this fact is related.

B.C. by his wild excesses and his affectation of Oriental magnificence," was deprived by a decree of the Senate of his command; the same year he was defeated at Actium
30 by Octavius, and the following year committed suicide.
29 The Eastern provinces submitted in 29 and the triumph of Octavius was complete.

He was "now summoned by the general consent of a world wearied out with twenty years of war and anarchy to the task of establishing a government which should as far as possible respect the forms and traditions of the Republic, without sacrificing that centralisation of authority which experience had shown them to be necessary for the integrity and stability of the Empire. The new system, which was formally inaugurated by
28- him in 28-27 B.C., assumed the shape of a restoration
27 of the Republic under the leadership of a 'princeps.' Octavius resigned the extraordinary powers he had held for so long, and the old constitutional machinery was once more set in motion; but the special prerogatives conferred on him gave him back in substance the powers he had resigned; the Senate decreed that he should *prefix* the title of Imperator to his name, and as an additional cognomen take that of Augustus; and as Augustus he ruled the Roman world for four and forty years. He possessed great administrative capacities, quiet tenacity of purpose, deliberate caution and unfailing tact. Gibbon calls him a subtle tyrant, whose cool head, unfeeling heart and cowardly disposition prompted him at the age of nineteen to assume the mask of hypocrisy which he never afterwards laid aside; but he admits that his vices as well as his virtues were artificial, and according to the various dictates of his interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last the father of the Roman world." Even when dying he thought of himself as an actor, and enquired of his friends whether they thought he had played his part on the stage of life well.[1]

Augustus himself dated the years of his imperial monarchy from the victory of Actium in 31, but it is
27 usual to give 27 B.C. as the commencement of the Empire.

These dates have the "striking disadvantage of omitting from the list of Roman emperors the man who himself created the Empire," Julius Caesar. The dignity was an elective one, though in many cases a

[1] It is only fair to add that he showed some real feeling directly after, saying to the wife to whom he had been married for fifty years, "Livia, live mindful of our union."

B.C. man's successor was fixed on before his death ; and the election, or at any rate, its ratification presently came to depend on the soldiery. Their power grew with time and they put up and pulled down emperors as they pleased. In the half century between Alexander Severus and Diocletian there were twenty-four sovereigns and "only one man in the whole sombre list died in his bed." To degrade their puppet was not enough ; they felt impelled, as Hodgkin remarks, "to hasten his departure from a world where his presence was no longer convenient."

Some of the emperors were great men, some were monsters, others shadowy forms who do no more than flit across the stage ; but, good or bad, they were held as something more than men. Julius Caesar was deified after death by order of the Senate, but Augustus was spoken of even during his lifetime as partly divine, and this was continued in later reigns, the word "sacred" being prefixed to their palaces, their letters, their words. The more sensible ones saw the farce of the thing, but others, like Caligula, took the matter very seriously. It was said that to smile at his godhead was to die ; nevertheless, even he seems to have had some sense of humour, for when, during one of his processions he enquired of a bystander who was gazing at him, "What do you think of me ?" and the man replied, "I think you a great absurdity," it is recorded that he merely passed on.

But even a man like Theodosius allowed himself to be spoken to "of that God Who is partner in your majesty."[1]

5 The birth of Christ is now believed to have taken place in this year.

A.D. 54 Augustus was succeeded by Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, the latter beginning his reign in the year A.D.54. It has been remarked that "no human being ever played such fantastic tricks before high heaven as did this last and most degenerate of the Caesars," and his artistic efforts have perhaps brought more obloquy on his name than even his crimes. But in this particular at any rate I think injustice has been done

[1] After his death the poet Claudian announced that he was now a star. "The Roman Empire certainly held out splendid possibilities to ambition," says the author of *Italy and her Invaders*. "Never since its fall has a mere Spanish gentleman of respectable birth and talents been turned into a star."

A.D. him. Whatever his performances may have been he seems to have had the true artistic temperament. Suetonius[1] says of him: "With what extreme anxiety he engaged in these [musical] contests, with what keen desire to bear away the prize, and with how much awe of the judges, is scarcely to be believed. Nor did he omit any of the expedients which artists in music adopt, for the preservation and improvement of their voices." And it was not a fact that he published other people's poems as his own. Suetonius continues, "Several little pocket-books and loose sheets have come into my possession which contain some well-known verses in his own hand, and written in such a manner that it was very evident, from the blotting and interlining that they had not been transcribed from a copy, nor dictated by another, but were written by the composer of them.[2]

64 In the year 64 took place the great fire of Rome.[3]

69 After three quickly passing emperors, Vespasian became ruler of the world and during his reign Jerusalem
70 was taken by his son Titus.

78 In 78 Agricola took command in Britain and the account of his acts there has come down to us from the pen of his son-in-law, Tacitus.[4] His ideas of the geography of our country are curious, for he states that it "stretches on the east towards Germany and on the west towards Spain, and on the south it is even in sight of Gaul."[5]

79 Titus succeeded his father in 79, and under his mild administration, the Roman world enjoyed felicity; "his beloved memory served to protect above fifteen years the vices of his brother, Domitian." During the reign of Titus, happened some great catastrophes;

[1] Suetonius was born about the time of Nero's death.

[2] Suet., *Nero* XX, XXII, LII, LVII. Nero also appears to have been very good tempered, for he took patiently the abusive lampoons which were posted up in the city; one, alluding to the murder of his mother ran:

"Sprung from Aeneas pious, wise and great,
Who says that Nero is degenerate?
Safe through the flames one bore his sire; the other
To save himself, took off his loving mother."

[3] See Appendix II.

[4] Tacitus says that Agricola "when consul, contracted his daughter, a lady already of the happiest promise, to myself, then a very young man; and after his office was expired, I received her in marriage. He was immediately appointed governor of Britain."—*Life of Agricola* IX.

[5] Ibid, X. Caesar also speaks of one side of Britain inclining towards Spain and the west.

A.D. " an eruption of Mount Vesuvius in Campania, and a fire in Rome which continued during three days and nights, besides a plague such as was scarcely ever known before." [1]

Gibbon is of opinion that " if a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian [A.D. 96] to that of the accession of Commodus [A.D. 180]. The vast extent of the Roman Empire was governed by absolute power under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm but gentle hand of four successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded involuntary respect. The forms of the civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty and were pleased with considering themselves as the accountable ministers of the laws."

98 Trajan, perhaps the most attractive of all the emperors, ascended the throne in 98. We are reduced to collect his actions " from the glimmerings of an abridgment, or the doubtful light of a panegyric. There remains, however, one panegyric far removed beyond the suspicion of flattery." For some two hundred and fifty years after his death, the Senate, in acclaiming a new emperor, wished that he might surpass the felicity of Augustus and the virtue of Trajan. [2]

He was commanding on the Rhine in 97, when Nerva offered to adopt him and give him a share in the Empire. Convening the people before the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, he spoke these words: " I hereby adopt Marcus Ulpius Nerva Trajanus; may the gods bless therein the Senate, the people and myself." Nerva died the following January, but Trajan waited to finish the campaign and did not return to Rome for a year. Throughout his progress home he abstained from the demands and exactions usually made from the provincials, and his entry into Rome was a moral triumph, on foot, unattended by guards, with his wife—" that excellent lady, the virtuous Plotina "—by his side. The plaudits of the people were unmistakeably genuine, and during his stay in the capital Trajan rivetted more

[1] Appendix III.

[2] Frontinus, a contemporary, calls him the most painstaking of sovereigns, the most patriotic of rulers.—*Aqued.* II, 87,88.

A.D. firmly the affections of both Senate and people, being seconded by Plotina, who was as simple as himself, benevolent, pure and unambitious.

Trajan seized every opportunity of emphasizing his views that the " princeps " was merely the first of the magistrates, and just as much under the laws as the rest. The nineteen years of his reign were a golden age in Rome ; he made and carried out many useful plans.

100 In 100 or 101 the Emperor went to the Danube, and after his victories in the First Dacian War he triumphed
104 and took the name of Dacius. In 104 or 105 began the Second Dacian War, which was also entirely successful,
106 and in 106 he celebrated another splendid triumph.
113 In 113 or 114 Trajan went to the East, where his cam-
114 paigns were a complete, though brilliant, failure. Being ill, he took ship for Italy, but landed in Cilicia, where he died in 117.

Trajan was a soldier of " the true old hardy Roman type " born in Spain but probably of Italian blood ; an active ruler and a humane and kindly man, with great ability, courageous, just and frank. He regarded as his proudest title that bestowed upon him by the Senate, of Optimus, or the Best, as a compliment to his character rather than to his exploits.

117 His successor, Hadrian, seems to have been a man of wider acquirements than any ruler since Julius Caesar. He visited every province of his Empire, organising the government and erecting public buildings. In
132 132 began a revolt of the Jews, continued through three years ; hundreds of thousands were slaughtered and their dispersion was now complete. Hadrian was suc-
138 ceeded in 138 by his adopted son, Antoninus Pius, who
160 was followed in 160 by his adopted son, Marcus Aurelius.[1] The virtues of these two illustrious rulers were great, and the authority of the Empire was raised to its highest pitch. In 166 the army, returning from the East,
166 brought back a terrible pestilence which presently spread throughout the West and inflicted a lasting blow

[1] It was probably during the reign of Antoninus in 156 that Polycarp was martyred. He was Bishop of Smyrna, and a contemporary letter from the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium describes his death. This is the earliest known history of a Christian martyrdom, and its genuineness is unquestionable. The flames, we are told, " made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall," so an executioner was told to despatch him with a dagger.

A.D. on its prosperity ; fires, earthquakes and famines added to the general alarm ; disturbances on the Danube called forth all the strength of the Empire ; a victim was called for, and Marcus Aurelius gave his sanction to the most general persecution the Christians had yet suffered.

From now onwards the history of Rome itself gradually dwindled to narrow limits[1] ; the emperors were nominated by the armies of the frontiers and governed from their camps ; the Senate, often reluctant and sometimes rebellious, continued to represent their authority in the city, but played a trifling part in world-wide movements. From the accession of Commodus in 180 to the death
180 of Heliogabalus in 222, the Empire was ruled by a suc-
222 cession of vicious tyrants. Then followed thirteen years of auspicious calm, while the youthful Alexander Severus laboured to restore the glories of the Antonine Age, but the " abilities of this amiable prince seem to have been inadequate to the difficulties of the situation, the firmness of his conduct inferior to the purity of his intentions " ; " the habit of murdering their Emperors was too strong among the soldiers, and at the age of thirty " he, too, followed the rest.

After Alexander came a series of rulers during whose reigns the Empire of the Caesars sank ever deeper into a state of ineptitude, and the barbarians on the frontiers constituted an ever-increasing danger. The Eastern boundaries were threatened by the Persians and the Saracens, while the tribes on the Rhine and the Danube seem to have " collected their strength into three confederacies, each of which in turn proved too strong for the resistance which the Romans could oppose to it."[2]

250 In 250 Decius, " a person of illustrious rank and birth, and, moreover, gifted with every virtue . . . ." says Zozimus, became emperor ; an accomplished prince, active in war and affable in peace, who deserved to be compared with the brightest examples of ancient virtue. He believed that Rome could only be saved from disaster by a victorious army, and that efficient discipline could only be maintained by adherence to the old principles

[1] Zozimus says : " For as Polybius informs us by what means the Romans in a short space of time attained a vast empire, it is my purpose to show, on the other hand, that by their ill-management in as short a time they lost it."

[2] One group on the Lower Rhine came afterwards to be known under the common designation of Franks ; those on the Upper Rhine were later on linked as Allemani ; on the Danube were the Goths.

A.D. of Roman policy; he cast aside the philosophic toleration of his predecessors and appealed to the gods of Rome for aid. While he was preparing to resist an invasion of the Goths "he insisted strictly on the submission of the Christians to the ancient ordinances of the State, and tested their obedience by vows and sacrifices." A persecution ensued, sharper and more widely extended than any that had preceded it. S. Jerome speaks of the "cruelty of this persecution in which Fabianus, bishop of the Roman Church, perished at Rome."

253 After Decius came a period when the Empire was oppressed and almost destroyed by the soldiers and the tyrants[1] within, and the barbarians without; "It was saved by a succession of great princes, Claudius, Aurelian and Probus, Diocletian and his colleagues, who triumphed over the foreign and domestic enemies of the State, re-established with the military discipline, the strength of the frontiers and deserved the glorious title of Restorers of the Roman world."

"With Claudius who obtained by one signal victory[2]
268 the surname of Gothicus, commences a brief, fitful revival of the military glories of the commonwealth," but after a reign of only two years he expired amid the tears of his subjects. His "valour, affability, justice and temperance, his love of fame and of his country place him in that short list of emperors who added lustre to the Roman purple." During his last illness he recommended one of his generals, Aurelian, as the fittest man to succeed him and to finish the work he had only been able to begin.

70 Aurelian's reign of less than five years was filled by memorable achievements. "He put an end to the Gothic war, chastised the Germans who invaded Italy,[3] recovered Gaul, Spain and Britain out of the hands of Tetricius and destroyed the proud monarchy[4] which Zenobia had erected in the East on the ruins of the afflicted Empire." But his rule was a cruel one, and he

[1] A crowd of usurpers started up in all the provinces during the reign of Gallienus, and were called by writers of the history of the Empire, the Thirty Tyrants; but as a matter of fact there were no more than nineteen.

[2] He routed the Goths in the great battle of Naissus, A.D. 270. Ammianus speaks of him as "that glorious general Claudius." *Rom. Hist.*, XXXI, v, 17.

[3] They penetrated as far as Ravenna.

[4] One of the "Thirty Tyrants."

A.D. was detested by the Senate, who, however, admitted his merits.

A substantial monument of his reign exists in the walls of Rome. The city had outgrown the walls of Servius and fear of barbarian invaders induced the government to provide for the safety of the city.

275 Tacitus reigned only a few months, and was succeeded in 276 by Probus, who defeated the Germans and the
276 Goths, extorted an honourable peace from the Persians and did much useful work, such as reclaiming marshes.

284 After Carus, Carinus and Numerian, Diocletian ascended the throne of empire in 284. Carus and Numerian died suddenly, possibly murdered; Carinus was defeated by Diocletian but was assassinated. "The hour and the man had both arrived for a great revolution in the Roman policy."

For a long time the government of the Empire had been entirely decentralised, each province provided for itself, the authority of the Senate could not be said to extend beyond Italy and even the power of the Emperor hardly reached beyond the territory in which his own
286 legions were quartered. But now things were changed. In 286 Diocletian associated Maximian with himself, giving him the title of Augustus, and in 292 he created
292 two Caesars, Galerius to act subordinately to himself in the East, and Constantius Chlorus to divide the government of the West with Maximian. Uniformity was to be restored, the laws enforced, and every province and every subject made to acknowledge the imperial supremacy. From this time the old titles of Republic, Consuls, Senate, cease to present any political significance, and the Empire of Rome resembled an Oriental sovereignty.

The four rulers acted with vigour and success.[1] In
305 305 Diocletian celebrated the beginning of the twentieth year of his reign by a triumph in Rome; after which he retired to Nicomedia and abdicated, Maximian—it is said unwillingly—doing the same in Milan.

"Like Augustus, Diocletian may be considered as the founder of a new empire," like him he was more distinguished as a statesman than as a warrior, and neither of them used force when he could attain his end without it. Diocletian's abilities were more useful than splendid; he possessed a vigorous mind, great experience of mankind, a judicious mixture of mildness and rigour, of

[1] For their dealings with the Church, see "Persecutions."

A.D. liberality and economy, and the great art of submitting his passions to his ambitions.

Instead of permitting the Caesars to step into the vacant places of the two Augusti, and to choose each his subordinate prince, Diocletian decreed that his son-in-law, Galerius, should nominate both candidates. The latter accordingly nominated his nephew as Caesar of the East, under the name of Maximinus or Jovius, and passing over the claims of Constantius' son, Constantine, appointed one Flavius Severus as Western Caesar. Constantius was in Britain ill, and Galerius counted on his death; but his moderation had endeared him to his subjects,[1] multitudes of Christians had enjoyed his protection, the soldiers admired his virtues and at his
306 decease in 306 they elected Constantine—afterwards called the Great—at York, and the nomination was received with enthusiasm throughout the West. Galerius was afraid to oppose this feeling, but assigned to Constantine fourth rank among the rulers with the title of Caesar. For six years the latter confined himself to the administration of the northern provinces, showing great moderation and clemency. Whether he was, or was not, personally indifferent to religion, he must have seen that Christianity had survived many persecutions and would probably take the spiritual lead in future; and have thoroughly understood that, morally, its votaries were superior to his other subjects. In 307
307 Severus died and Licinius took his place. Meanwhile the Senate showed a moment's vitality and elected Maxentius, son of Maximian, as Augustus. Maximian himself issued from his retirement, to aid, as he said, the cause of his son, and giving his daughter Fausta as wife to Constantine cemented an alliance between them. But Maxentius drove out his father, and Constantine allowed the latter to shelter in Gaul on condition that he resigned all authority. He did his best to evade the condition, and proved a most "uncomfortable relative."

310 After Maximian's death in 310 five emperors reigned;
311 the following year Galerius died, and Licinius, Maximin, Constantine and Maxentius shared the sovereignty of the world, all with the title of Augustus. Licinius made an alliance with Constantine, but allowed him to conduct hostilities alone against Maxentius, over whom he won three brilliant victories at Turin, Verona and

[1] Eusebius says of him that through his entire life he was most kindly and favourably disposed towards his subjects. *Ch. Hist.*, VIII, xiii.

A.D. 312 at Saxa Rubra,[1] in the last of which Maxentius was drowned. Constantine entered Rome amid great rejoicings, and was acknowledged chief of Italy and Africa; he assumed the place of chief pontiff of the old national religion, erected a triumphal arch with statues on it of Olympic deities and "enveloped his own personal faith in studied ambiguity." He also disbanded the Praetorian guards.

In the same year Constantine granted liberty of worship to the Christians and decreed that their property—confiscated during the persecution—should be given back to them. By a second edict, dated from Milan 313 in 313, he granted his subjects leave to worship what divinities they pleased.[2]

314 At the request of Sylvester, who became pope in 314, Constantine built and adorned many churches in Rome.

Licinius gained three victories over Maximin, who poisoned himself, and thus incurred the jealousy of Constantine. After an indecisive battle they made a fresh agreement, which lasted for nine years, during which time Constantine reorganised his army; arranged for the defence of the frontiers by the military colonies established along them, thus introducing "a kind of feudal tenure into the policy of the Empire"; and revised the civil government. Licinius, whose mind had swayed between Christianity and paganism, had at 323 length declared in favour of the latter and reopened the persecution of the former; and the final struggle between the two rulers was a contest of the new faith with the old. They met at Hadrianople, Constantine giving the word "God the Supreme Saviour" to the 130,000 men who followed the Labarum,[3] while the 165,000 men of

[1] See Appendix IV.

[2] For the question of his conversion and baptism during the pontificate of Melchiades (311-14) see Lateran Baptistery.

[3] This was the standard which was borne before the imperial troops. After Constantine had determined to deliver Rome from the rule of Maxentius he saw, probably on his march from Gaul, a "marvellous sign in the heavens, the account of which it might have been hard to believe, had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history [Eusebius] when he was honoured with his acquaintance and society; and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginningto decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun and bearing this inscription, 'Conquer by this.' At this sight, he himself was struck with amazement, and his army also, which . . . . witnessed the miracle.

A.D. Licinius went into battle with a train of aruspices and diviners. Licinius was decisively beaten, and after
324 some further adventures was put to death by Constantine, who now felt secure in the undivided possession

" He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on ; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heaven and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.

" At dawn of day he arose . . . .and calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing.

" Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear overlaid with gold formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones ; and within this, the symbol of Our Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X at its centre . . . . From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones ; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribably degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was a square form, and the upright staff whose lower section was of great length bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on the upper part . . . ." Eusebius says the enemy used to flee when the Labarum appeared, and that Licinius gave his men directions not to attack it or even look at it.

Fifty men of the imperial body-guard, distinguished for strength, valour and piety, were entrusted with the sole care and defence of the standard. " These circumstances were related to the writer of this narrative by the emperor himself in his leisure moments, long after the occurrence of the events. And he added another incident well worthy of being recorded." He then tells how the man carrying the Labarum during a sudden tumult was struck with fear and gave it to a companion ; how the man himself was killed while escaping, and the companion came off untouched, though the staff of the standard was transfixed by numberless darts.

In an edict to his people Constantine prayed to God for the Eastern nations and said, " Preceded by thy sacred sign, I have led Thy armies to victories ; and still on each occasion of public danger, I follow the same symbol of Thy perfections while advancing to meet the foe."

This incident has been regarded as a miracle, or an imposture, according to the credulity or incredulity of the reader ; but it can be explained by presuming that the emperor saw " part of a system of solar halos, and two of them at right angles would form a cross. The *Brighton Herald* of April 10th, 1852, records a similar phenomenon on April 1st of that year at Brighton ; " Sun setting, evening very fine with slight haze westward, where a ray of brilliant light shot upwards about twenty degrees from the horizon, directly perpendicular to the sun, and soon after its appearance it was crossed by a horizontal band of light of a paler colour, but about the same breadth. It formed a perfect cross and lasted half an hour." There are some good photographs of these solar halos in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

A.D. of the Roman world. But after the satisfaction of his ambitions he undoubtedly deteriorated in character, though he showed increasing favour to the Christians, and wrote to various bishops to enlarge the churches and draw on the imperial treasury for supplies. One of the letters was sent to Eusebius of Caesarea, "being," he says, "the first letter which he personally addressed to me." "I have fully satisfied myself, best beloved brother," wrote the Emperor, "that the buildings belonging to all the churches have either become ruinous through actual neglect or have received inadequate attention from the dread of the violent spirit of the times." He then goes on to give his instructions for repairing and enlarging old churches and in cases of necessity building new ones.[1]

In the year 325 Constantine called a council at Nicaea,
325 "at which," he says, "in obedience to my conscience I was present, being actuated by no other motive than the desire of producing unanimity among you all, and before all else of dispelling the Arian heresy." Eusebius gives an interesting account of the proceedings.[2] At the end the Emperor entertained the assembled bishops, and the narrator assures us that "not one of them was wanting at the imperial banquet." The learned translator remarks: "One cannot help noting that the human nature of ancient and modern councils is the same—much controversy, more or less absenteeism, but all present at dinner."

330 In 330 the city of Constantinople became the imperial capital and succeeded to Rome's proudest title, "The City."

337 Seven years later the great Emperor "was translated," says Theodoret, "from his earthly dominions to a better kingdom,"[3] and the earthly dominions were divided between his sons Constantine, Constantius and Constans.

"The reign of Constantine the Great," says Dean Milman, "forms one of the epochs in the history of the world. It is the era of the dissolution of the Roman Empire; the commencement, or rather the consolidation of a kind of Eastern despotism, with a new capital, a new patriarchate, a new constitution, a new financial system, a new, though as yet imperfect, jurisprudence

[1] Eus. *Life Con.*, II, xlv, xlvi.
[2] See Appendix V.
[3] Theodoret I, xxxii.

A.D. and finally a new religion. Nothing less than a sovereign whose comprehensive mind could discern the exigencies of this critical period, nothing less than a conqueror who rested on the strength of successive victories over his competitors for the supremacy, could have reunited, and at that time, under one vigorous administration the dissolving elements of the Empire."

Eutropius, who probably held the post of secretary under Constantine, says of him that " he was a man who in the beginning of his reign might have been compared to the best princes ; in the latter part of it only to those of a middling character,"[1] and this seems to epitomise his character very fairly, for he was certainly corrupted by good fortune, and during his later years lost much of his subjects' esteem. Unworthy favourites influenced him ; he became both prodigal and rapacious ; the sincerity of his friendship has been questioned, and though the charge of cruelty seems unproven, he was jealous, suspicious and vain.

But during the greater part of his life he seems to have merited in large measure the eulogies of his intimate friend, Eusebius of Caesarea. He was moral, amiable, very merciful, kind and patient, liberal, just and full of tact ; prudent, persevering and steadfast ; a man of boundless energy and determination, of rapid action, naturally good intelligence and sound judgment ; of somewhat scanty education, but a lover of letters ; exceedingly ambitious, but striving to use his power for the public good ; a remarkably successful general, popular with his soldiers and of great personal courage ; and a statesman of broad and far-reaching policy ; in fact, a great man.

Was he a Christian in real truth ? Judging by his own letters and his edicts he certainly was so.

The new regime under his sons was inaugurated by the murder of all the relations of Constantius Chlorus who might interfere with the succession, excepting Gallus and Julian, the youthful nephews of the late Emperor.

340 Constantine II was killed while fighting Constans and
350 the latter perished in a mutiny.

353 Constantius disposed of a couple of rivals, put to death in 354 Gallus, whom he had made Caesar, and for
354 a short time ruled alone. But the following year he raised Julian to the rank of Caesar. The young prince
355 conducted four successful campaigns on the Rhine,

[1] Eutropius X, vii.

A.D. and in 360 was proclaimed emperor by his legions at
360 Lutetia.[1] After fruitless negotiations with Constantius
361 he resolved to trust his fortunes to the chances of a civil war, and casting aside the semblance of Christianity, he made public declaration that he committed his cause to the immortal gods. Then, passing through Germany, he hurried towards Constantinople. Constantius on his way to confront his rival, died in Cilicia, and Julian was accepted in all quarters as his successor. His career as an emperor belongs entirely to Eastern history and he never saw Rome.[2]

362 The following year he resolved to march against the Persians, who, under Sapor II,[3] had fought with success against Constantius and went to Antioch, to make his
364 preparations. From this war he never returned. After his death,[4] "there was no time," says Ammianus Marcellinus, "for weeping and lamentation," and the army

[1] Now Paris.

[2] Zozimus very justly remarks that "none that has ever written him has fully reached the justice of his character." To accuse him of apostasy is surely ridiculous. Brought up as a Christian, an orphan in the power of the murderers of his family, could he do otherwise than hide his real convictions? He was attracted to the ancient faith while still young, and as soon as it was possible declared his convictions to the world. Of the reality of his devotion to the gods of Rome there can be no doubt. "I feel awe of them," he says in one place. "I love, I revere, I venerate them," and this devotion he showed throughout his short reign. Ammianus Marcellinus, one of his guardsmen, says of him, "It would seem that some principle of a more than commonly virtuous life guided this young prince from his very cradle to his last breath; . . . . he was temperate, chaste, just and moderate, brave and enduring, being his men's comrade in perils and privations, so that though they feared his authority they greatly loved him. On the other hand, he was somewhat unsteady in disposition, a great talker, too much given to divination, superstitious, a seer after popular applause, and he made some laws which were wrong, among them the cruel one which forbade Christians to teach rhetoric or grammar." He held some curious views about the Christian faith into which it is impossible to enter here.

[3] Sapor, one of the greatest of his dynasty, reigned from 310 to 381. His subjects are alluded to by Ammianus Marcellinus indifferently as Persians and Parthians. Eutropius speaks of Julian's expedition against the Parthians, "in which expedition I was also present." Eut. X, 16. There is an interesting letter from Constantine the Great to Sapor, recommending the Christians in Persia to his protection, which ends, "Because your power is great, I commend these persons to your protection; because your piety is eminent, I commit them to your care. Cherish them with your wonted humanity and kindness; for by this proof of faith you will secure an immeasurable benefit both to yourself and to us." Eus. *Life Con.* IV, xiii. Sapor was at various times a bitter persecutor of the Christians.

[4] Theodoret, who was born some thirty years later, says: "It is related that when Julian had received the wound he filled his hand with blood, flung it into the air and cried, 'Thou hast won, O Galilean.'" *Eccles. Hist.* III, xx.

A.D. elected as his successor Jovian, the commander of the guards, who extricated the army from its perilous situation only by a very disadvantageous treaty. He was succeeded in a few months by Valentinian I, who invested his brother Valens with the purple and gave him the government of the East. "And at this time," says Ammianus Marcellinus, "the trumpet, as it were, gave signal for war throughout the whole Roman world; and the barbarian tribes on our frontiers were moved to make incursions on those territories which lay nearest to them. The Allemani laid waste Gaul and Rhaetia at the same time. The Sarmatians and Quadi ravaged Pannonia. The Picts and Scots, Saxons and Atacoti harassed the Britons with incessant invasions, the Austoriani and other Moorish tribes attacked Africa with more than violence. Predatory bands of Goths plundered Thrace. The king of the Persians poured troops into Armenia."

365 The two emperors set up their courts at Milan and Constantinople.

366 During the pontificate of Damasus (366-84) S. Jerome formed a sort of connecting link between East and West; he took a very large part in the introduction, or at least the reception of, monachism in the latter, and he was the author of the Latin translation of the Bible known as the Vulgate.

375 After the death of Valentinian there was a prospect of disunion between his elder son, Gratian—already associated in the Empire—and the younger son Valentinian, child of his second wife, Justina. But the army were loyal to the former, and he at once took his infant brother as the sharer of his power. Up to this time the emperors had been deified at death and had during life assumed the title of Sovereign Pontiff; but Gratian, the pupil of the great S. Ambrose, refused to wear the pontifical robes, and he had the statue of victory, before which the senators were accustomed to burn incense previous to each sitting, removed from the Curia Julia.

378 On the death of Valens, Gratian gave command of the Eastern troops to Theodosius, afterwards known as
379 the Great, and finally made him emperor of the East.

381 In 381 took place the First Council of Constantinople.

383 In 383 Gratian, who had forfeited the esteem of his subjects by his idle and pleasure-seeking life, was assassinated by the usurper Maximus.

A.D. 384 In 384 Siricius became pope, and to him belongs the first of the papal decretals which has an undoubted claim to authority.

387 Maximus having marched against Valentinian II, the young emperor and his mother fled to Thessalonica. Theodosius, who first wrote to his colleague that he must not be astonished at his own panic, as he was "fighting against piety,"[1] now "bade him be of good cheer" and "marched against the Tyrant. He gave 388 the lad his Empire again . . . . and slew Maximus."

A terrible massacre took place at Thessalonica by order of Theodosius, after a rising in which some of the imperial officers were slain; no attempt was made to discriminate between innocent and guilty, and an indelible stain is left on the memory of the emperor, who did penance before S. Ambrose at Milan after having been placed by that prelate under an interdict.

392 In 392 Valentinian II was assassinated by Arbogastes, a Frankish officer who held a high command in his army; the Frank did not himself usurp the throne, but placed upon it Eugenius, the last pagan emperor of either the West or the East. Theodosius was indignant at his 394 brother-in-law's[2] murder, but was not at leisure to avenge it till 394, when he defeated and put to death Eugenius, while Arbogastes fell on his own sword. The night after the first engagement, the emperor, whose soldiers "were few in number and much discouraged," dreamed, says Theodoret, that he saw "two men in white raiment, riding upon white horses, who bade him be of good cheer, drive away his fear and at dawn arm and marshal his men for battle. 'For,' said they, 'we have been sent to fight for you'; and one said, 'I am John the Evangelist,' and the other said, 'I am Philip the Apostle.' This vision was also seen by a private soldier. The second day's battle went in favour of the Christian emperor; and when Eugenius, ignorant of how things had gone, saw his men running to the hillock on which he sat, he asked if they had brought Theodosius in chains as he had ordered. 'No,' said they, 'we are not bringing him to you, but we are come to carry you off to him, for so the great ruler has ordained."

After this victory Theodosius fell sick, and divided his empire between his sons, assigning to the elder the

[1] Valentinian had been brought up by Justina to hold Arian opinions.
[2] He had married Galla, Valentinian's sister.

A.D. sovereignty which he had wielded himself, and to the younger the throne of Europe.

"He charged both to hold fast to the true religion, 'for by its means,' he said, 'peace is preserved, war is stopped, foes are routed, trophies are set up and victory is proclaimed.'"

395 In 395 died the "last great emperor of the world," a strong, fine character, though the pagan Zozimus charges him with hastening the Empire towards its ruin.

Arcadius now reigned in Constantinople and Honorius in Milan. The latter was not blessed with many good, or any great qualities, but he stopped gladiatorial shows, and he tried to protect the heathen monuments of Rome by an edict which stated that, "As strongly as we forbid idol-worship, so strongly do we wish to preserve public monuments as ornaments to the city."[1] The child emperor had been placed by his father in the guardianship of Stilicho, a Vandal, as to whose great abilities as a soldier and a statesman there can be no doubt, though as to his character there are conflicting opinions.

396 For a long time the Empire had suffered severely from the barbarians. In 396, St. Jerome wrote, "I shudder when I think of the catastrophes of our time. For twenty years or more the blood of Romans has been shed daily between Constantinople and the Julian Alps, Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, the Pannonias—each and all of these have been sacked and pillaged and plundered by Goths and Sarmatians, Quades and Alans, Huns and Vandals and Marchmen. How many of God's matrons and virgins, virtuous and noble ladies, have been made the sport of these brutes. Bishops have been made captive, priests and those in minor orders have been put to death. Churches have been overthrown, horses have been stabled by the altars of Christ, the relics of martyrs have been dug up. The Roman world is falling; yet we hold up our heads instead of bowing them."

400 In 400 the Visigoths entered Italy. (For the doings of these and other invaders of Italy, see Sieges of Rome.)

402 It was probably in this year that Honorius took up his residence in Ravenna; and his example was followed by his successors; by the Gothic kings and by the

[1] This edict, being promulgated while Honorius was still a child, was not of course given by his own initiative, but it was enforced by a second edict thirteen years after his accession.

A.E. Greek exarchs ; the bishops of Rome being left free to rule that city much as they pleased.

406 In 406 Gaul was desolated by Vandals, Suevi and Alans and was never again free from barbarian occupation ; the legions in Britain mutinied and elected as their emperor a private soldier, Constantine, who for four years was lord of what remained of the praefecture of the Gauls.

408 First siege of Rome by the Visigoths.

409 Second siege of Rome by the Visigoths.

410 Capture of Rome by the Visigoths.

431 In 431 took place the Council of Ephesus.

440 In 440 Leo I the Great began his pontificate of twenty-one years, and the sermon he preached on the day of his consecration has come down to us. He thanks God for all that he has given him and then tells his congregation that he acknowledges their favourable opinion, " paying you the thanks I owe, and thus showing how much respect, love and fidelity your affectionate zeal could expend on me who long with a shepherd's anxiety for the safety of your souls, who have passed so conscientious a judgment on me, with absolutely no deserts of mine to guide you. I entreat you therefore by the mercies of the Lord, aid with your prayers him whom you have sought out by your solicitations that both the spirit of grace may abide in me and that your judgment may not change. May He Who inspired you with such unanimity of purpose vouchsafe to us all in common the blessings of peace ; so that all the days of my life being ready for the service of Almighty God and for my duties towards you, I may with confidence entreat the Lord : ' Holy Father, keep in Thy Name those whom Thou hast given me.' "

Leo's pontificate is looked upon as one of the greatest epochs of the Christian Church, and during it he is the only great name in the Empire. Rome alone of all the greater sees upheld religion in all its sanctity, and if Leo demanded undue deference he at any rate conferred inestimable benefits on civilisation. He was a man of singular virtue, eloquent and learned, bold and prudent ; " who, in the ever-deepening degradation of his country, still despaired not, but had the courage and endurance to work for a far-distant future, who, when the Roman was becoming the common drudge and footstool of all nations, still remembered the proud words, ' Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.' And under the

A.D. very shadow of Attila and of Gaiseric he prepared for the city of Romulus a new and spiritual dominion, vaster and more enduring than any which had been won for her by Julius or by Hadrian." Throughout his reign he laboured with untiring energy to convert the admitted primacy of the bishops of Rome into an absolute and world-wide dominion. Preaching on the festival of SS. Peter and Paul, he says, " These are they who promoted thee [Rome] to such glory that, being made a Holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal State, and the head of the world through the blessed Peter's holy see, thou didst attain a wider sway by the worship of God than by earthly government. For although thou wert increased by many victories and didst extend thy rule on land and sea, yet what thy toils in war subdued is less than what the peace of Christ has conquered."

445 In 445 he obtained a rescript from Valentinian III, " declaring that the peace of the Church could not be secured until men with one consent recognised the dominion of the see of Peter."

451 In 451 the Council met at Chalcedon, which has been admitted to rank as the fourth, by some as the last, of the great Ecumenical Councils. Leo had been very anxious that it should be held in Italy; he wrote to Theodosius II, saying that the " Robber " Synod of Ephesus had done mischief to the faith, and that " all the Churches of our parts and all the priests implore your clemency with tears . . . to command the assembling together of a special synod in Italy." This request, however, was refused. The Council passed a canon according to New Rome privileges second only to those of Old Rome, and this canon, annulled by Leo, laid the foundation of the Eastern Schism

Before Leo mounted the papal throne the sullen might of Attila, king of the Huns, " lay like a thunder-cloud over Europe—and the amount of abject, slavish fear which this little swarthy Kalmuck succeeded in instilling into millions of human hearts is not easily to be matched in the history of our race," and this, though the only great battle that he fought, was a complete defeat, and he seems to have had no constructive genius nor statesmanlike ability. Early writers have not given an attractive picture of this nation. Ammianus Marcellinus admits that they were made in the shape of men, of a very ugly pattern, " like the stout figures that are hewn out in a rude manner with an axe on the posts at the

A.D. end of bridges." But Jordanes is even more unkind. In alluding to his earlier days, he says: "The race of Huns, fiercer than ferocity itself, flamed forth against the Goths. Unclean spirits and witches were the progenitors of this savage race, a stunted, foul and puny tribe, scarcely human and having no language save one which bore but slight resemblance to human speech." They lived near the Maeotic swamp, from whence they swept "like a whirlwind of nations" into Scythia. "By the terror of their features they inspired great fear in those whom perhaps they did not really surpass in war. They made their foes flee in horror because their swarthy aspect was fearful, and they had, if I may call it so, a sort of shapeless lump, not a head, with pinholes rather than eyes .... Though they live in the form of man, they have the cruelty of wild beasts."[1]

451 In 451 the Huns entered Belgic Gaul[2] and sustained a great defeat on the Catalaunian Plain,[3] but in the
452 following year the "joys of strife" again tempted Attila and he descended into Italy, destroyed Aquileia and many of the cities of Venetia; several opened their gates on the approach of these dreaded enemies; Milan and Pavia followed their example, and the question now debated was whether they should go on and blot out Rome as they had blotted out Aquileia. The voices were not all for war. Already Italy began to strike that strange awe into the hearts of her northern conquerors which so often in later ages has been her best defence. "And," says Jordanes, "the historian Priscus relates that Attila's followers took him away, not out of regard for the city to which they were hostile, but because they remembered the case of Alaric, the former king of the Visigoths. They distrusted the good fortune of their own king, inasmuch as Alaric did not live long after the sack of Rome, but straightway departed this life. Therefore, while Attila's spirit was wavering in doubt between going and not going and he still lingered to ponder the matter, an embassy came to him from Rome to seek peace." Pope Leo came to sue for peace at the

[1] After such a description it is interesting to read the diary of a man who actually dined with the Scourge of God, as Attila called himself. See Appendix V.

[2] Which comprised all France north of the Seine.

[3] The battle was probably fought about fifty miles from Chalons sur Marne.

hands of the barbarian.[1] Attila promised to retire across the Danube and criticism has long been busy as to the real reason why the dreaded king of kings should have given way before the unarmed successor of S. Peter.

The papal chair stood many steps higher after this success, in the estimation both of Rome and the world. "In the dark days which were coming, the Senate and people of Rome were not likely to forget that when the successor of Caesar had proved useless the successor of S. Peter had been a very present help."

In 455 Valentinian III was murdered and Petronius Maximus was elected emperor. He was a man whom prince and people had held in honour, and great things were expected from his reign, but he proved unequal to the position and sorely regretted his old repose. Sidonius (a contemporary) speaks of his "two month's principate [at the end of which he was murdered], its beginning, its whirlwind course, its end." His rule was from the first tempestuous, with popular tumults, tumults of soldiers, tumults of allies. He often used to exclaim, "Happy thou, O Damocles, whose royal duress did not outlast a single banquet."

The state of the Empire at this time is well summed up by Hodgkin: "Let the reader store up in his mind this picture of a sorely worried Emperor vainly striving to maintain his authority amid the clamours of mutinous legionaries full of fight everywhere but on the battle-field, of Roman demagogues haranguing about Regulus and Romulus, and of German federati insatiable in their claims for donatives and land. For this picture, or something like it, will probably suit equally well for each of the eight other weary-browed men who have yet to wear the diadem and be saluted with the name of Augustus."

In this same year (455) Rome was taken by the Vandals. Only twenty-one years separated the sack of Rome from the fall of the Western Empire; and it was through its internal corruption, its class antagonisms and the disloyalty of its own soldiers, that it became an easy prey to Odovacar the Skyrian during a rebellion of the auxiliary troops or foederati.[2]

[1] The meeting is said to have taken place on the banks of the Mincio, possibly at Governolo.

[2] Prof. Bury maintains that though Augustulus resigned, no Empire fell; that though there was often more than one emperor there were never two Empires, and that the "line of Roman emperors continued in unbroken succession from Octavius Augustus to Constantine Palaelogus."

A.D. The Eastern Emperor Zeno was recognised as sole sovereign, and Odovacar received the title of Patrician.

Contemporary statesmen assumed an attitude partly of perplexity, partly of listless unconcern towards an event which seems to us so momentous, and which has affected the whole life of mediæval and modern Europe. "For by it the political centre of gravity was changed from the Palatine to the Lateran, and the Bishop of Rome, now beyond comparison the most important person of Roman descent left in Italy, was irresistibly invited to ascend the throne and to wrap himself in the purple of the vanished Augustus."

Whatever degree of support the popes derived from their apostolic succession from Peter, their position in the imperial city must have greatly helped their claim to the primacy of the Church.

That the Catholic Church was already an immovable organisation when the ancient Empire fell, is one of the most important facts of history. On this foundation stone the life of Europe was built up anew.

The following very brief sketch of mediæval and modern Italian history is compiled principally from modern authorities, whose very words I frequently use.

484 In 484 Pope Felix III excommunicated Acacius Bishop of Constantinople and a few days later Acacius excommunicated the Bishop of Rome. The schism which followed divided the Eastern and Western Churches till 518.

489 Five years later Theodoric the Great and his Ostrogoths invaded Italy and established the Gothic rule, defeating and killing Odovacar. Theodoric appears to have undertaken the expedition with the consent of the Emperor Zeno. The future relations between them were not accurately determined, but there seems to have been a recognition that Italy and Rome still formed part of the "Roman Republic."[1]

526 On the death of John I the election of a new pope was bitterly contested; by Theodoric's influence Felix IV was chosen. The Roman Church consented to recognise his nominee, "but an agreement was made by which future popes were to be chosen by the free votes of the clergy and people, although they might not assume their office until confirmed in it by the sovereign. This agree-

[1] See Sieges of Rome.

A.D. ment continued in force until the appointment was given to the College of Cardinals, instituted in 1059." War between the Greeks and the Goths brought terrible devastation on Italy and finally subjected her to Constantinople; she was ruled by a Greek exarch seated at Ravenna. The civil and military power in the town was separated, the bishops being given authority over the provincial and municipal government, thus leading to an increase in the power of the Church, already very influential. In Rome a magister militum commanded the troops, the Senate being reduced to a mere shadow. It " added the functions of a curia or municipal council to those of a governmental assembly and took part in the election of the pope."

553 In this year took place the Second Council of Constantinople.

568 With the invasion of the Lombards began a completely new epoch. During the reigns of the Greeks and the Goths all " the Roman institutions were altered and decayed, but their original features were still to be traced, and no heterogeneous element had been introduced into them."

The Lombards abolished all ancient laws and institutions and their rule was marked by the harshest oppression." Gregory the Great, pope from 590 to 604, constantly opposed them and the Romans were truly fortunate in having such a man as he in the chair of S. Peter at this period of stress.[1]

About this time the Roman Commune began to take shape and in the contests between people and emperor the pope sided sometimes with one, sometimes with the other.

680 The Third Council of Constantinople.

708 In 708 we suddenly hear of a Dux of Rome and the Ducatus Romanus, which are mentioned in the Liber Pontificalis. The limits of the territory of Rome were constantly changing with the course of events, and owing to the weakness of the government of Constantinople and the decomposition of the Italian provinces under the Lombards the dukedom was widely extended. The duke was at the head of the army and was held officially to be an imperial magistrate; but the Empire was powerless now in Italy, the popes came to consider themselves as the real representatives of the Republic, and Gregory

715 II seemed indeed to regard the duchy as a patrimony

[1] See Church of S. Gregorio.

A.D. of the Church. During his reign began the great Iconoclastic conflict which continued for over a century.

750 The Lombards took Ravenna, thus putting an end to the exarchate, and then marched towards Rome.

753 Stephen II (sometimes called III) went to France to beg aid from Pepin, king of the Franks, and made an alliance with him "destined to inaugurate a new epoch in the world's history." The pope consecrated Pepin,

754 king of the Franks and named him Patricius Romanorum and Defensor Ecclesiae.

"And the king pledged himself not only to defend the Church but also to wrest the exarchate and the Pentapolis from the Lombards and give them to Rome, or rather to the pope, which came to the same thing. This was also considered as a restitution to the head of the Church, who was also the representative of the Republic and the emperor. And to preserve the character of a restitution the famous 'donation of Constantine' (the Great) was invented during this period." In 755 the

755 Franks conquered Lombardy and made peace, but as

756 soon as they had left Italy the Lombards besieged Rome; Pepin returned and was completely victorious. He was asked by the Emperor Constantine to hand over to him the conquered territories, but replied that he had undertaken the expedition for the honour of the blessed Peter and the Roman Church and that it was his intention to bestow the territories on the pope.[1]

Thus "central Italy broke its connection with the Empire and became independent; and thus was inaugurated the temporal power of the papacy."

The emperor, however, was still nominally considered the pope's suzerain and when the Western Empire was revived under Charlemagne, "the popes were held to owe homage to him for their territories."

773 Adrian called upon Charlemagne for aid against the Lombard King Desiderius. The Frank responded to the call, destroyed the Lombard Kingdom, and took the

774 celebrated iron crown. In 774 he paid his first visit to Rome, confirmed the donation of Pepin and added to it the Duchy of Spoleto. He returned several times to Rome, making fresh concessions to Adrian till the latter's death.[2]

[1] They included Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Singaglia, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Montefeltro, Urbino, San Marino, Gubbio, Narni, etc.

[2] Adrian I addressed Charlemagne as the new Constantine, as if the early emperor, "through whom God had designed to bestow everything

A.D. According to the Liber Pontificalis, Charlemagne made over to the pope nearly the whole of Italy, and some writers have held that the account was falsified at a later date. Duchesne's investigations, however, have shown that the account was by a contemporary writer, but he admits that the cession of all these territories never took place, and thinks it probable "that the pope, finding difficulty in maintaining his authority over those he actually held, afterwards liberated Charles from the promises he had made."

787 The Second Council of Nicaea.

Charlemagne only occasionally exercised his powers as "patrician" of Rome. The pope regarded himself, and was regarded by many, as master of the city, but the Republic did not acknowledge him as its head, nor, as he had no army, could he reduce to obedience those territories over which he claimed to rule, but which constantly rebelled against him. Rome itself was torn by feuds; the nobility, jealous of his power, were, nevertheless, divided among themselves, restless and turbulent. Leo III, feeling that he needed the support of an effective ally, crowned Charlemagne emperor on
800 Christmas day, 800, and inaugurated the Holy Roman Empire.

The coronation of Charles is not only the central event of the Middle Ages, it is also "one of those very few events, of which, taking them singly, it may be said that if they had not happened, the history of the world would have been different. If the Roman Empire had not been restored in the West in the person of Charles, it would never have been restord at all, with its inevitable train of consequences, good and evil; for his power was altogether personal; it belonged to the man, to the

on the Holy Church of the Apostolic Prince," had arisen again. The words are worthy of note, as containing the first allusion to the monstrous forgeries which served the popes for many centuries as an authentic foundation of universal dominion. This fable (the Donation of Constantine) was the work of a Roman priest, possibly between 752 and 777, possibly rather earlier than this. It was refuted by Valla in the fifteenth century. Gregorovius says: "the spurius Donation of Constantine rendered good service to the claims of the popes. More important, however, were the pseudo-Isidorian decretals which incorporated in themselves that Donation of territory. These memorable fabrications of several letters and decrees of bygone popes, interspersed in a collection of Acts of Councils, and foisted upon the celebrated Isidor of Seville, date from the middle of the ninth century. Nicholas I was the first among the popes to make use of them as a code of papal rights."

conqueror, to the legislator, to the patron of letters and art ; in short, to Charles the Great.

In that day, as through all the Dark and Middle Ages, two forces were striving for the mastery. The one was the instinct of separation, disorder, anarchy, caused by the ungoverned impulses and barbarous ignorance of the great bulk of mankind ; the other was that passionate longing of the better minds for a formal unity of government, which had its historical basis in the memories of the old Roman Empire, and its most constant expression in the devotion to a visible and Catholic Church. The former tendency, as everything shows, was, in politics at least, the stronger, but the latter, used and stimulated by an extraordinary genius like Charles, achieved in the year 800 a victory whose results were never to be lost. It was because man felt that no one less than Charles could have won such a triumph over the evils of the time, by framing and establishing a gigantic scheme of government, that the excitement and hope and joy which the coronation evoked were so intense. His sway is the revival of order and culture, fusing the West into a compact whole, whose parts are never thenceforward to lose the marks of their connection and their half-Roman character, gathering up all that is left in Europe of spirit and wealth and knowledge, and hurling it with the new force of Christianity on the infidel of the South, and the masses of untamed barbarians to the North and East."

It was also by the spirit of his established rule that the feudal system, which had been spontaneously growing from beneath the debris of the Roman Empire, first found strength to develop into a methodical form. It may be described as a local organisation of reciprocal duty and privilege ; not merely material, but also moral ; not simply political, but also social and even religious. The whole society was bound into a hierarchy in which every man had his rank, his rights, his duties. In this way sprang up the closest bond whch has ever bound man to man.

Charlemagne had been imperfectly educated himself, but delighted in the society of learned men ; he was devoted to his children, temperate in his habits, of great height and fine appearance, his face bright and cheerful ; he was eloquent and ready in expression, and a devoted Christian. His intercourse with Adrian I, the most prominent man of the age after himself, was long and

A.D. close, and though at one time the relations between them were not friendly, Charles was, we are assured, by his friend and biographer Einhard, profoundly moved at the pope's death and wept for him " as if he had been a brother or the dearest of his sons."

Adrian's reign had been a glorious one, and this man, of fine presence and indomitable will, generous and manly and of great courage, had filled the chair of S. Peter as worthily as Leo or Gregory, and formed a
A.D. fitting companion to the great Frankish king.
824 After a period of turmoil Louis the Pious sent his son Lothair to restore order in Rome. He " proclaimed a new and noteworthy constitution, to which Pope Eugenius II gave his oath of adherence. By this, the partnership of pope and emperor in the temporal rule of Rome and the states of the Church was again confirmed. The more direct power appertained to the pope ; the supreme authority, presidency of the tribunals, and final judgment on appeal, to the emperor. " During the Carolingian period the commune is scarcely mentioned ; and when the Frankish Empire showed signs of dissolution the popes began to assume imperial attributes ; but having lost their main support, they were unable to prevent the nobles from becoming masters of the city.

In 846 the Saracens pillaged the neighbourhood of
846 Rome, not sparing the churches of S. Peter and S. Paul. According to one account they violated the tomb of the former, but Monsignor Mann states that there is no historical evidence that the bodies of the apostles were removed.

847 Leo IV, who began his pontificate in 847, caused the Vatican hill and S. Peter's to be enclosed with walls, thus forming a new suburb called the Leonine City.

869 At the fourth Council of Constantinople, a temporary reconciliation was effected between the Eastern and Western Churches. Saracens, in alliance with the Dukes of Salerno, Amalfi, Gaeta and Naples, having prepared
872 to attack Rome, Pope John VIII, who began his reign in 872, built walls, three miles long, and established a papal navy, with which he won a considerable victory.

878 Rome was plundered by Lambert of Spoleto and Adalbert of Tuscany.

916 John X united the princes of Southern Italy against the Saracens, and at Garigliano led the troops in person.

During the ninth and tenth centuries Italy was dis-

A.D. tracted by the quarrels of rival emperors and kings of Italy, of the popes and of the Roman Republic, which now held up its head again, by the inroad of Saracens in the South and of Hungarians in the North. Rome was in a state of most frightful chaos, and the election of the popes actually fell into the hands of certain depraved women, Theodora and her daughters Marozia and Theodora. At length Berenger II, king of Italy, and Adalbert his son, having occupied the states of the Church, John XII called upon Otto I the Great for help; many princes and bishops of Italy sent him a similar invitation, and in 961 he set out with a great army.

962 Otto was crowned in Rome and is "said to have issued a charter in which he confirmed to the Roman Church all the possessions granted by Pepin and Charlemagne, but claimed in full his imperial rights." After the emperor's departure John plotted against him and Otto returned, declared John (who had fled) deposed,
963 and elected Leo VIII, who is, however, usually regarded as an anti-pope. Endless feuds followed, and in 966 Otto arrived in Rome and took the severest measures against all anti-imperialists; his troops were probably allowed to sack the city. After his death, the Romans under a noble, Giovanni Crescentius, or Crescentio, rose in arms, but their leader was taken and hanged.

998 Under a descendant of his the National Party rose again into power, but their leader was taken and executed by Otto III in 998. The young Emperor established his mastery in Rome and wished to reconstitute the Roman Byzantine empire. His edict was addressed to the Senate and people of Rome; the Senate is now constantly mentioned, and its heads bear the
1001 title of consul. In 1001 the nobles regained power and revived the Republic under Gregory of Tusculum. After the rule of a third Crescentius the Counts of Tusculum again became very powerful, and several members of the family held the pontificate, the first of these being Benedict VIII. Then followed tumults, assassinations and conflicting papal elections, and this state of things continued until Henry III came to re-establish order. He appointed a synod to depose the three popes who were struggling for the tiara, and with the consent of the weary and anarchy-stricken Romans, elevated Clement
1046 II to the seat of S. Peter. Thus the emperor was once more lord of Church and State.

During this half century the Normans subdued

A.D. southern Italy, the Saracens wasted the coast from Pisa to Rome, and a temporary reconciliation was again effected with the Church of Constantinople.

1049 In 1049 Leo IX became pope. He was "destined to inaugurate a new era of reform in the history of the papacy, which from the darkness of the previous age was now to rise to universal spiritual supremacy." In this reign and the succeeding ones, Hildebrand (afterwards Gregory VII) was the most powerful churchman in Italy.

1059 At a council held in the Lateran it was ordained that "in future the right to elect popes should be vested in the cardinals, the election to be ratified by the consent of the other clergy and by the acclamation of the people. The decree stated that regard was to be paid in the matter of the election to the honour and reverence due to the emperor, but his share in the choice of a pope was purposely left vague. The Roman clergy were to have the prior right, but if no suitable candidate could be found among them, a prelate of any other Church was eligible. Rome was to be by preference the place of elections, but if for any reason it was inconvenient to hold it in the city, the cardinals might hold it wherever they wished.

"The passing of these important decrees concerning papal elections, which are still in force at the present day, make the pontificate of Nicholas II a momentous epoch in the annals of papal history. It is generally stated that these decrees were passed chiefly through the influence of Hildebrand, who was instrumental in drawing them up."

The other important event of this pontificate was the alliance of the Papacy with the Normans, who now held the chief power in Southern Italy. It was agreed that they were to hold their conquests as fiefs of the Roman see, and to do the pope homage, Richard I of Aversa as Prince of Capua and his brother Robert Guiscard as Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, whenever he should have taken these from the Greeks and Saracens, and that in return they were to uphold the rights and protect the possessions of the chair of S. Peter.

1061 During the pontificate of Alexander II (which began in 1061) Henry IV began the course of action which afterwards led to the prolonged quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy.

1073 The year 1073 was marked by the election of Gregory

A.D. VII, "one of the most remarkable figures in mediæval history. He reconfirmed his predecessor's decrees, dismissed all simoniacal and non-celibate priests and in
1075 a second council, in 1075, forbade the clergy to receive investiture at the hands of laymen." Now, as ecclesiastical dignities included the possession of extensive benefices, privileges and feudal rights, this decree gave rise to tremendous disputes and to fierce contests between the Empire and the Church. The nobles under Cenci rose in revolt, Henry IV declared the pope deposed, and in return Gregory published the excommunication and deposition of the emperor.

1077 Henry made submission at Canossa in 1077, but again turning against the pope, was again excommunicated,
1081 and in 1081 he marched to the siege of Rome, taking with him the anti-pope Clement III. It was not until after three unsuccessful campaigns in Italy that he at length took possession of Rome. Gregory VII took
1084 refuge in the Castle of S. Angelo and called for help from Robert Guiscard, who brought an army to the rescue. Henry withdrew his troops enfeebled by malaria, the Normans sacked the city, and on their withdrawal, Gregory, believing his life unsafe, accompanied them.[1]

1095 The First Crusade.

1115 Matilda of Tuscany bequeathed her vast possessions to the Church. It is tedious to follow the struggles of this age, and the fights between popes, anti-popes, emperors, nobles and the Republic[2]; but a few facts may be given.

1122 The Concordat of Worms reconciled Henry V and Calixtus II and ended the War of Investitures. "The emperor promised to abandon his claim to investiture with the ring and crozier, and granted freedom of election to all episcopal sees throughout the empire. The pope, on his side, promised that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the emperor or his representatives. The elected prelates were to be invested by the emperor with the temporalities of their sees."

1123 The First Lateran Council.

1139 The Second Lateran Council.

1147 The Second Crusade.

1155 Frederic Barbarossa crowned in S. Peter's by Adrian IV.

1159 Alexander III ascended the papal throne. He was

[1] See *Tiber and its Banks*.

[2] Arnold of Brescia was for some time a leader of the popular side.

A.D. accepted as head of the Lombard League, the city of Alexandria, founded as its headquarters, being named
1176 after him. By the League, Frederic was overwhelmingly defeated at Legnano in 1176.

1177 At a congress in Venice the following year, peace was concluded and a formal treaty made between Alexander, Frederic, the Greek Emperor, the Lombard cities and William of Sicily; Frederic, however, refusing to agree to all that was asked of him, it was converted into a truce.

1179 The Third Lateran Council.

1186 Frederic's son Henry was married to Constance, heiress of Sicily. This was a great blow to the papal power, as it meant that the Normans would no longer give aid against the emperors.

1188 Frederic joined in the Third Crusade and was drowned in Syria.

1198 When Innocent III became pope, "the progress of events had already prepared the way for that culmination of world-wide power which under him the papal monarchy was to attain. During the century which had elapsed since the death of Gregory VII, precedents had established the rights of popes to dethrone and excommunicate rulers, to call them to account for immorality, and for offences against the Church, to oblige princes to swear fealty to their crowns, to confiscate lands and kingdoms, and to bestow and withhold at will the imperial crown. Moreover, during the twelfth century the clergy became better educated, and purer in morals, and the wealth of the Church had increased, the monastic orders had flourished, and the Crusades had served to increase the prestige of the popes." "With regard to foreign politics it may be said that the influence of Innocent III was brought to bear on every important question which agitated the courts of Europe during the eighteen years of his pontificate, and in almost every case matters were settled in accordance with his judgment."

1202 The Fourth Crusade.

1215 The Fourth Lateran Council.

1217 Honorius III crowned, as Emperor of the East, Pierre de Courtenay, who had been elected by the Crusaders. The ceremony took place in S. Lorenzo without the Walls.[1]

1220 Frederic II was crowned in S. Peter's. He confirmed

[1] See Basilica of S. Lorenzo.

A.D. the Church in her possessions, but nevertheless sought to dominate all Italy. Quarrels and reconciliations alternated as usual between popes, emperor, Guelf nobles and Ghibelline nobles in different combinations, and gradually the Roman Republic became a commonwealth with an increasing resemblance to those of the other Italian cities.

1245 The Council of Lyons.

1250 Frederic's death "determined the fall of the Ghibelline party and the close of the imperial epoch in Italy."

A.D. Innocent IV determined to destroy the Hohenstauffen's power, and this was "no longer difficult when, by the

1254 decease of Conrad IV, the child Conradin became the last legitimate representative of that line." At this period the state of the empire "induced many Italian republics to seek strength by placing their governments in the hands of some prince willing to swear respect to their laws and to undertake their defence against neighbouring states and the pope. The majority of the Romans elected Charles of Anjou as their senator. He had already accepted from Urban IV the crown of Sicily, and

1265 in 1265 he came to Rome. Manfred, illegitimate son of Frederic II, who had been guardian of Conradin, and later King of Sicily, having been killed at Bene-

1266 vento, the triumph of the Guelf Angevins in Italy was assured. Conradin was defeated at Taglicozzo and

1268 executed, or rather, murdered, in 1268.

Charles' power as senator was confirmed by the pope for ten years, he having already appointed the Angevin as vicar in Tuscany. He took possession of the Capitol and ruled Rome by vice-governors.

1274 The Second Council of Lyons. The Greek emperor, Michel Palaeologus, sent ambassadors to declare that he was willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Church. An Act of Union between the Eastern and Western Churches was accordingly drawn up, but did not last many years.

1278 Nicholas III compelled Charles to resign the senatorship. The Colonna, Orsini, and other Roman nobles rose to power. Martin IV restored Charles to his office, and his power now reached its height. But the slaughter

1282 known as the Sicilian vespers deprived him of Sicily, and after having being repudiated by the Romans, who

1285 appointed a popular government, he died in 1285.[1]

[1] A modern historian says of Charles that every attribute that can qualify a man ambitious, but devoid of genius, to become a tyrant and

A.D.

1294 Boniface VIII was elected pope; he endeavoured to aggrandize his kinsmen the Caetani, and was strongly opposed by the Colonna, whom he subdued, destroying their stronghold at Palestrina. They, in return, plotted against him with the agents of Philip IV of France, who thought that the Angevin successes in Italy entitled him to play the master there, and who had also had a quarrel with Boniface over the Bull *Clericos Laicos*, which forbade the laity to tax the clergy. They met with much favour in Rome, where irritation was great against the Caetani.

1300 In 1300 the first great jubilee festival was held in Rome. Giovanni Villani, who was one of the pilgrims, writes: "It was the most marvellous thing that was ever seen, for throughout the year, without break, there were in Rome, besides the inhabitants of the city, 200,000 pilgrims, not counting those who were coming and going on their journeys, and all were suitably supplied and satisfied with provisions, horses as well as persons, and all was well ordered without tumult or strife, and I can bear witness to this, for I was present and saw it."

1303 The jubilee was a triumph for Boniface; but it was followed three years later by his tragic fall. In 1303 Sciarra Colonna and the Frenchman Nogaret fell upon the pope in Anagni, insulted him and made him prisoner. He was rescued by the inhabitants and the conspirators fled. But when the pope returned to Rome under escort of the Orsini, who had made themselves masters of the city, he found that he was virtually a captive and

a conqueror was possessed by him in fullest measure; but Villani, who was born ten years before his death, speaks of him as the "good King Charles," and evidently had a high though somewhat awed opinion of him, "it is," he writes, "very fitting that we should preserve a record of so great a lord, and so great a friend and protector and defender of Holy Church. This Charles was wise, prudent in council and valiant in arms, and harsh, and much feared, and redoubted by all the kings of the earth, great-hearted and of high purposes, steadfast in carrying out every great undertaking, firm in every adversity, faithful to every promise, speaking little and acting much, scarcely smiling, chaste as a monk, catholic, harsh in judgment, and of a fierce countenance, tall and stalwart in person, olive-coloured, large-nosed, and in kingly majesty he exceeded any other lord, and slept little and woke long, and was wont to say that all the time of sleep was so much lost; liberal was he to knights in arms, but greedy in acquiring land and lordship and money, from whencesoever it came, to furnish means for his enterprises and wars. This Charles, when he passed into Italy, was forty-six years of age." There is a very interesting portrait statue of him in the Museo Conservatori Rome.

A.D. died of rage and exhaustion. The reign of Boniface marked a turning point in the fortunes of the mediæval papacy, which from now slowly declined and never again reached its former supremacy.

1305 In 1305 Clement V, a Frenchman, was consecrated pope at Lyons, and four years later he elected to fix the papal court at Avignon, which belonged to the King of Naples or Count of Provence. There it was to remain for over seventy years, a period known in the history of the papacy as the Babylonish Captivity. Rome was deprived of a source of wealth and influence, but the Republic was free to pursue its own course.

1311 The Council of Vienne.

Henry VII was very anxious to restore the grandeur of the Empire, and the Italians, above all Dante Alighieri, saw in him the champion of the State against the Church. The people of Rome shared these ideas, but the nobles
1312 rose in opposition. Henry took the Capitol by assault, but failed against the castle of S. Angelo, which was held by the Orsini, leaders of the Guelf party and allies of Robert of Naples. Henry was crowned in the Lateran by five cardinals, but two months later he departed for
1313 Tuscany, and died at Buonconvento in the following year. The usual tumults succeeded in Rome. Clement V, named Robert of Naples, Senator of Rome, and also Vicar of Tuscany. Robert appointed a vicar in Rome.
1327 In 1327 the populace drove out the Neapolitan partisans and made Sciarra Colonna captain of the people. He presently aroused their discontent and Robert was again made senator; anarchy reigned. Cola di Rienzi now
1347 appeared and ran his fantastic career. In 1347 he was proclaimed head of the Republic "with the title of tribune and liberator of the Holy Roman Republic, by authority of the merciful Lord Jesus Christ." He
1347 exhorted all the cities of Italy to shake off the yoke of their tyrants and send representatives to a parliament, for he considered that the Roman revolution must be not municipal but national, and even, in some points, universal. And this idea was welcomed with general enthusiasm throughout the peninsular. Even the pope, willingly or unwillingly, accorded his approval to Rienzi's deeds. Great men like Petrarch were transported with joy. "Nevertheless, when the parliament was convoked few representatives appeared; municipal distrust and
1348 jealousy had awakened, the nobles remained steadily hostile, the pope incited them to rise, and Cola, though

A.D. at first successful, lost heart, abdicated and fled to
1352 Naples. Four years later he was in the hands of Innocent VI, who sent him to Rome to give the support of
1353 his influence to Cardinal Albornoz, who was to try and re-establish the power of the Church in Italy. The cardinal was successful in Rome and then marched into Umbria, Tuscany and the Sabine districts, while for a time Cola regained his power, but having alienated the people by his tyrannical rule, he was killed in a revolt."

1357 In 1357 Rome conceded to the pope the supremacy of the Senate, and submitted to the rule of a series of senators of foreign birth. But they became more and more alienated from the Avignonese pontiffs and begged Urban V to return to Rome. This he did, and entered
1367 the city amidst great enthusiasm.

1369 John Palaeologus, the Greek emperor, came to Rome and begged for help against the Turks, acknowledging the supremacy of the pope over all bishops.

After their first welcome the people continually opposed the pope, and feeling himself still a stranger, he returned to Avignon. The Romans, while maintaining their own arrangements, professed a desire for the pope's presence among them, but many cities in the states of the Church rose against the legates. Realising that further absence would cost him his state, the next pope,
1376 Gregory XI, returned to Italy in 1376. He made a compact with the people and entered Rome in 1377,
1377 thus putting an end to the Babylonish Captivity ; but finding that the Romans evidently did not intend to keep their part of the agreement, he retired to Anagni,
1378 where he died.

Urban VI, the "spirit of discord incarnate," commenced his reign by telling the cardinals that Church reform must begin with them ; the French ones, who had been opposed to his election, now elected an anti-pope and thus started a long and distressing schism. Urban supported the claim of Charles of Durazzo against Joanna of Naples, but afterwards quarrelled with and made war upon him. He also quarrelled with many of his cardinals
1383 and treated them with horrible cruelty.

1390 Boniface IX. ordered his legate to crown Ladislas as King of Naples, and secured the friendship and protection of this ambitious and powerful prince, who came to
1394 Rome in 1394, to help him against the rebellious Ro-
1398 mans, and by 1398 the liberties of the city were at an end.

1404 An attempt at freedom under Innocent VII was sup-

A.D. pressed by help of Ladislas, who, however, wished to use the situation to his own advantage ; he was known to aspire to absolute domination in Italy. After giving a hand to the vanquished, he aided the Colonnas, who endeavoured to profit by the state of affairs ; the people
1406 then restored the pope, who had gone to Viterbo, and Ladislas made peace with him and was appointed gonfalonier of the Church.

1408 In 1408 Ladislas made himself master of Rome. A council at Pisa deposed Gregory XII and the anti-
1409 pope Benedict XIII and elected Alexander V. Ladislas first espoused the cause of Gregory against Alexander, who in his turn sanctioned the claims of Louis of Anjou on Naples and sent an army to join him under Baldassare Cossa ; Louis was also allied with Pisa, Florence and Siena. They forced an entrance to S. Peter's,
1410 but were unable to take the city. In 1410, however, Rome did homage to Alexander and invited him to come as its ruler ; but he died soon after, " hastened on his way to eternity," it was said, by Baldassare Cossa, who was elected by a party of the cardinals as John XXIII.

1411 In 1411 he entered Rome with Louis, who soon afterwards defeated Ladislas, but failed to take advantage of his success. The next year Ladislas deserted Gregory and made a treaty with John, promising to defend the states of the Church. This treaty he failed to keep and in 1413 he sacked Rome, while the Pope John fled to
1413 Viterbo, his power being re-established only after the king's death.

1414 The Council of Constance, which met in 1414, deposed all three "popes." It was assembled for three main purposes ; (1) to heal the schism and unite the Church under one pontiff ; (2) to reform the Church in its head and its members ; (3) to extirpate heresy. " According to the statistics usually accepted, it was attended by 18,000 prelates, 2,400 nobles and 80,000 laymen."

1417 In 1417 Braccio Fortebraccio of Montone, a captain of adventure, having seized Rome and assumed the title of Defensor Urbis, John's legate, Cardinal Isolani, begged help of Joanna II of Naples, whose troops, under Sforza d'Attendolo, marched on Rome and Braccio retired. The city did homage to Sforza in the name of the Church and of the Queen of Naples. In the same year the election of Martin put end to the great schism. He concluded an alliance with Joanna and ratified Iso-
1420 lani's appointment. In 1420 he went to Rome. The

A.D. city " was in ruins, nobles and burghers were equally disorganised, the people unable to bear arms and careless of their rights." The Roman Republic had ceased to exist, and throughout Italy municipal freedom had been overthrown ; the universal unity both of the Church and of the Empire was dissolved ; the latter was now Germanic and derived its principal strength from the direct dominion over a few provinces, and the former had ceased to claim universal supremacy over the world's governments.

The Middle Ages were ended, the Renaissance was beginning. Independent and national states were formed or forming on all sides ; the possession of a temporal state was considered essential to the existence of the papacy. Martin V was the first of a series of popes who were real sovereigns and more occupied with politics than with religion. Involved in all the foreign intrigues, falsehoods and treacheries of Italian diplomacy, their policy was imbued with the like, and nepotism became necessarily the basis of their strength.

Martin re-established order in Rome ; justice was rigidly observed, but the pope leant much on his kinsmen, the Colonnas, and granted them vast fiefs. He quarrelled with Joanna II, and her general, Sforza,
1421 called on Louis of Anjou for aid. Joanna invited Alfonso of Aragon into her country ; he sent a fleet, but the fickle queen revoked his adoption and elected
1423 Louis as her heir.
1431 Council of Basle (recognised in part).

Eugenius IV leant on the Orsini and opposed the Colonna, who excited the people to revolt. The pope
1434 fled to Florence and entrusted the war against his enemies to the brutal Giovanni Vitelleschi, who after great
1436 successes entered Rome like a conquered city.
1438 The Council was removed from Basle to Ferrara (recognised in part).

Eugenius claimed Naples as a fief which had reverted to the Church by the death of Joanna, and refused to recognise either of the claimants to the crown, Alfonso, or Rene of Anjou, the successor of his brother Louis.
1439 The Council was moved from Ferrara to Florence. The Emperor John Palaeologus, wishing the pope to unite the Western princes in a crusade against the Turks, attended the Council and agreed to a union of the Greek and Latin Churches, which, however, his people refused to accept.

A.D.
1440 Vitelleschi, who had subdued most of the states of the Church, was suspected of treason and imprisoned; his successor, Cardinal Scarampo, ruled Rome with iron severity.

1442 Alfonso became master of Naples.

1443 The Council removed to Rome, whither the pope returned after making a treaty with Alfonso.

Meanwhile the schism continued. The prelates who had refused to leave Basle for Ferrara and had elected Felix V were at first adhered to by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pius II. He later made his peace with Eugenius and went to him on an embassy from Frederic III, who was desirous of ending the schism. A concordat was signed a few days before
1447 the death of Eugenius.

Nicholas V, the first of the humanist popes, succeeded him, and in 1449 Felix V resigned his pretensions.

1450 Jubilee pilgrims flocked to Rome in vast numbers.

1452 Frederic III was crowned; the last emperor who underwent the ceremony in Rome.

1453 A conspiracy against the pope under Stephen Porcari failed. In this year Constantinople was taken by the Turks and all Christendom was filled with horror and dismay; it meant the complete overthrow of Christianity in the East.

It is frequently stated that this event was the beginning of the Renaissance of letters in Western Europe. This is not correct, as a revival of learning had begun at least a hundred years before and had been powerfully influenced by Petrarch; but many Greek manuscripts had been brought to Ferrara to be used in the controversy between the Churches, and this had led a number of Italian churchmen to study the language; many Greek scholars had fled from Constantinople before its fall, and finally settled in Italy, where they taught their own tongue. From Italy the study of Greek writers gradually spread throughout Europe.

1456 Callixtus III sent a papal fleet against the Turks, but was unable to accomplish his desire of raising a general crusade.

1459 Pius II summoned all Christian princes to meet at Mantua to deliberate on the same subject, but the attendance was very disappointing. In 1462 he con-
1462 ceived the project of converting the Turks and addressed a bulky letter to the Sultan; and in the same year he declared that the Roman Church was earning the con-

A.D. tempt of Christendom by its lack of fervour for the crusade, and announced his intention, ill as he was, of proceeding in person against the Turks. Venice and Hungary promised to aid him, and he ordered the crusaders to assemble at Ancona whither he went in 1464
1464 and where he died.

Paul II was no patron of learning and was hated by its devotees. He abolished the College of Abbreviators, men whose business it was to abridge bulls and other papal documents. The historian Platina, who was one of them and who was afterwards imprisoned and very cruelly treated by his orders, in revenge blackened the memory of the pontiff in his Lives of the Popes. But Paul was nevertheless the author of some useful reforms. The pope's will by now was absolute ; a senator, three conservators and an elected council still existed and "now and then, a shadowy semblance of a popular assembly was held to cast dust in the eyes of the public" ; but even this did not continue for long. For the completion of the system a blow had to be dealt to the aristocracy ; they became powerless under the three following popes, and henceforward the history of Rome was absorbed in that of the papacy.

Sixtus IV greatly aggrandised his nephews Pietro and Girolamo Riario, and Guiliano and Leonardo della Rovere.

1478 He was privy to the Pazzi conspiracy against the Medici. A League was formed by Florence, Louis XI of France, Venice, Milan and others against the pope, who was supported by Ferrante of Naples at first, but
1479 Lorenzo de Medici, having visited Naples, won over the king as his ally.

1480 In 1480 the Turks took Otranto, and Sixtus in terror made peace with Florence and Venice, and the next year a league was formed between all the powers of Italy, the emperor, Hungary, and France against the Turks. On the death of Mahomet II, they withdrew from Italy.

1482 A war between Venice leagued with Sixtus against Ferrara "set the whole of Italy aflame," and various combinations took place among the different powers. Rome was distraught by factions.

1492 In 1492 Alexander VI became pope and laboured to restore order in Rome.

1494 In 1494 Charles VIII of France, urged thereto by Ludovico Sforza, crossed the Alps to make good his

A.D. claim on Naples. At this time the peninsula was enjoying a peace which had lasted for nearly fifty years. An equilibrium had been established between the five greater Powers, the kingdom of Naples, the Papacy, the Duchy of Milan and the Republics of Florence and Venice, and round them were grouped the minor states of Genoa, Lucca, Siena, and the Duchy of Ferrara, including Modena and Reggio, the Marquisate of Mantua and Montferrat and the Duchy of Urbino. These were in various relations of hostility or amity. Pisa was practically, though not completely, enslaved by Florence; the despotisms in the cities of Romagna, the Marches and Umbria were being gradually absorbed into the papal sovereignty. During this half century Italy reached her highest intellectual level and came nearer to coherence as a nation than at any other period in the Middle Ages.

But now were to begin those devastating foreign wars when the French, the Germans and the Spaniards made Italy their battlefield and quenched her liberties in blood.

1495 Charles went to Rome and entered into a treaty with Alexander VI in 1495.

Savonarola incurred the pope's enmity by interfering in Italian politics and preaching against the vices of his court ; as the monk refused to cease preaching, the Franciscans joined the pope against him, and in 1498

1498 he was executed on a charge of heresy.

1503 Julius II, who began his reign in 1503, was keenly desirous of restoring the states of the Church. He be-

1506 came master of Perugia and Bologna in 1506, and two years later united France, the Netherlands, the emperor,

1508 Aragon, Hungary, Savoy and Ferrara against Venice in

1500 the League of Cambray. The defeat of Venice having made

1511 the French too powerful in Italy, Julius made a breach with them In this year the Roman nobles made a peace with each other, celebrated in the annals of the city as the Roman Peace, which marked an epoch and signalised a " change in the civic conditions and a revulsion in favour of public order. Julius henceforward was absorbed in the endeavour to drive the French from Italy."

The Holy Alliance was formed by him with Venice, the Swiss and the Spaniards, and afterwards joined by the emperor, but their army was defeated at Ravenna

1512 by Gaston de Foix in " one of the bloodiest of battles,"

A.D. on Easter Day. Gaston was killed, the soldiers sacked Ravenna, other cities opened their gates, and Julius' star was "at its nadir"; but he showed surprising courage and cleverness and declared he would drive the French from his country.

In this year met the Fifth Lateran Council (not universally accepted as Ecumenical).

Before his death Julius had restored and extended the territories of the Church and is looked on as the refounder of the papal states.

1513 Leo X joined a League between England, Spain and the emperor against France, but made peace with Louis XII after the latter's defeat at Novara. His successor Francis I won a great victory over the pope's Swiss Allies at Marignano, and with him, too, Leo made peace.

1517 In 1517 Martin Luther fixed his ninety-five theses on the subject of Indulgences on the door of the Castle Church of Wittenberg.

1521 The Diet of Worms.

Leo now allied himself with Charles-Quint, who was to conquer Parma and Piacenza and restore them to the Church and to take Florence and the Medici under his protection. Leo engaged to support Charles against Venice, invest him with Naples, and crown him emperor.

1522 Adrian VI was deeply anxious to reform the Church and also "desired to bring about peace among the princes of Europe in order to unite them against the Turks,"

1523 but he was persuaded by Charles to join him and Henry VIII of England in a league against France.

Clement VII's election had been supported by the emperor, but, dreading the latter's power in Italy, Clement hesitated to join him against the French and tried to preserve a neutral attitude.

1525 In 1525 he made a friendly alliance with Francis I who was shortly afterwards defeated and captured at Pavia. The Colonna revolted against the pope, who took refuge in S. Angelo while S. Peter's and the Vatican were sacked.

1526 Clement openly joined a league of France, England and some of the Italian States against Charles. The Colonna rising again, forced Clement to treat with the emperor, but as he continued his machinations against

1527 him secretly, Charles resolved to crush the papal power. In 1527 the imperialists attacked Rome under the Constable de Bourbon; he was killed, but an awful sack

A.D. followed, while Clement was shut up in the Castle S. Angelo.[1]

1530 In 1530 Charles V was crowned at Bologna, and this date may be said to mark the close of Italian independence, the Emperor and the pope shared Italy between them. But the Spaniards ruled over separate, not united, states, and the cities preserved their local qualities.

The Italian race had given to Europe "the Roman Republic, the Roman Empire, the system of Roman law, the Roman languages, Latin Christianity, the Papacy and, lastly, all that is included in the art and culture of the Renaissance." It was perhaps time that it should rest.

1540 Ignatius Loyola founded the Order of the Jesuits.

1545 The Council of Trent.

1547 Paul III, fearing decrees might there be passed inimical to papal interests, transferred the Council to Bologna.

1549 Two years later he suspended the sittings.

1550 Julius III ordered the Council of Trent to resume its work.

1552 It was again suspended.

1556 Charles-Quint relinquished the imperial crown in favour of his brother, Ferdinand; his son, Philip II, was already sovereign of Spain, the Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sicily. Paul IV refused to recognize Ferdinand.

The pope was determined to exterminate the Colonna family, but they were protected by the Viceroy of Naples. This provoked Paul into inviting the French to take possession of Naples. In the war which followed, he accepted help from Swiss and Protestant troops. After the Spanish victories at S. Quentin and Gravelines the French left Italy and Paul was forced to make peace.

1562 The Council of Trent re-assembled for the third time.

1571 Great defeat of the Turks at Lepanto by Don John of Austria.

1585 Sixtus V began his reign of five years, which "mark another crisis in the history of the popedom. At his accession the papal authority had dwindled to its narrowest limits, being recognised scarcely anywhere save in Spain and Italy and a few islands of the Mediterranean. To his tact, ability, and good sense, conjoined with the widespread activity of the Jesuits, and aided by the dissensions that prevailed among the Protestant sects,

[1] See *Tiber and its Banks*.

A.D. Catholicism was mainly indebted for the remarkable reaction in its favour which set in with the closing years of the sixteenth century."

1597 Clement VIII took possession of Ferrara on the death of Alfonso II d'Este, who had left no legitimate son.

1632 Frencesco Maria della Rovere having died without male heirs, Urbino reverted to the apostolic see.

1700 By the time of Clement XI the papacy had sunk immensely in political importance. Its influence in the Italian peninsular had dwindled to "within the limits of the states of the Church; and the dynastic succession in Naples and Sicily, in Parma and Piacenza, underwent a total change without the curia and the pontifical interest being in any way consulted."

The Roman "Republic twice attempted to rise from its grave, and on the second occasion gave proofs of
1798 heroism worthy of its past. It was first resuscitated in 1798 by the influence of the French revolution. But in the following year the government of the popes was restored until 1809, when Napoleon I annexed to his
1980 empire the states of the Church." In 1814 the papal
1814 government was again re-instated.

1848 Pius IX was driven from Rome by the advancing tide of Italian revolution in 1848, and "the Republic was once more proclaimed and had a brief but glorious existence." Its programme was dictated by Mazzini; united Italy was to be a Republic with Rome for its capital. France "assumed the unenviable task of re-establishing the temporal power (of the popes) by force of arms." But the defence of Rome by Garibaldi was a most remarkable achievement. The enemy was repulsed and the army of the Neapolitan king, sent to restore the pope, was also driven off. Then,
1849 however, France dispatched a fresh and more powerful force; Rome was vigorously besieged and at length compelled to surrender. Pius re-entered Rome in
1850 1850, and his reign down to 1870 was that of an absolute
1870 monarch. In this year Victor Emmanuel, who had been proclaimed King of Italy nine years before, entered Rome and made the Eternal City the capital of united Italy.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE

218 B.C.

In 218 Hannibal crossed the Rhone above its confluence with the Durance, experiencing great difficulty with his elephants, which numbered thirty-seven. Polybius gives a graphic description of the way in which the Carthaginians " made a number of rafts strongly compacted, which they lashed firmly, two and two together, so as to form combined a breadth of about fifty feet, and brought them close under the bank at the place of crossing. To the outer edge of these they lashed some others and made them join exactly, so that the whole raft thus constructed stretched out some way into the channel, while the edges towards the stream were made fast to the land with ropes tied to trees which grew along the brink, to secure the raft keeping its place and not drifting down the river. To the outer edges of these combined rafts, stretching about two hundred feet across the stream, they joined two other very large ones, fastened very firmly together, but connected with the others by ropes which admitted of being easily cut. To these they fastened several towing lines, that the wherries might prevent the raft drifting down stream and might drag them forcibly against the current and so get the elephants across on them. Then they threw a great deal of earth on all the rafts until they had raised the surface to the level of the bank and made it look like the path on the land leading down to the passage. The elephants were accustomed to obey their Indian riders until they came to water, but could never be induced to step into water ; they therefore led them upon this earth, putting two females in front, whom the others obediently followed. When they had set foot on the rafts that were farthest out in the stream the ropes were cut which fastened these to the other rafts, the towing lines were pulled taut by the wherries, and the elephants, with the rafts on which they stood, were quickly

towed away from the mound of earth. When this happened, the animals were terror-stricken, and at first turned round and round and rushed first to one part of the raft and then to another, but finding themselves completely surrounded by the water, they were too frightened to do anything, and were obliged to stay where they were. And it was by repeating this contrivance . . . that eventually the greater part of the elephants were got across. Some of them, however, in the middle of the crossing, threw themselves in their terror into the river, but though their Indian riders were drowned, the animals themselves got safe to land, saved by the strength and great length of their proboscis ; for by raising these above the water, they were enabled to breathe through them, while for the most part they got through the river on their feet."[1]

Meanwhile, P. Cornelius Scipio had sailed for Spain with the object of opposing Hannibal in that country, but hearing when he touched at Massilia, that the enemy was already in Gaul, he decided to meet him on the Rhone. Even for this, however, he was too late, as he only reached the place of the crossing some days after it had been effected.

Deeming it useless to pursue his enemy into unknown country, and thinking it highly important to check the growth of the Carthaginian power in Spain, he despatched his brother thither with the fleet and consular army, and himself returned to Pisa to take command of the forces raised to suppress a Gallic insurrection, expecting to meet Hannibal after his passage over the Alps.

Where this passage took place was greatly disputed, but recent criticism seems to prove that it was across the Little St. Bernard. The terrible dangers and difficulties of the route may be gathered from Polybius. Hannibal, he says, " had thoroughly informed himself of the fertility of the country into which he designed to descend, and of the hostile feelings of its inhabitants towards Rome ; and for his journey through the difficult district which intervened, he employed native guides and pioneers, whose interests were bound up with his own. I speak with confidence on these points, because I have questioned persons actually engaged on the facts ; and have inspected the country and gone over the Alpine pass myself, in order to inform myself of the truth and see with my own eyes. Hannibal began the ascent of the Alps and immediately found himself involved in the most serious dangers. For as long as the Carthaginians were on the plains the various chiefs of the Allobroges refrained from attacking them from fear of their cavalry, as well as of the Gauls who were escorting them. But

[1] Poly. *Hist.*, III, 46.

when these last departed back again to their own lands, and Hannibal began to enter the mountainous region, the chiefs of the Allobroges collected large numbers of their tribe and occupied the points of vantage in advance, on the route by which Hannibal's troops were constrained to make their ascent. If they had only kept their design secret, the Carthaginian army would have been entirely destroyed ; as it was, their plans became known, and though they did much damage to Hannibal's army, they suffered as much themselves." Having discovered that the enemy carefully guarded the points of vantage during the day, but retired to some town in the neighbourhood at night, Hannibal adapted his measures to this strategy of theirs. He marched forward by daylight till he came to the beginning of the ascent and then pitched his camp. " At nightfall he gave orders for the watch-fires to be lit ; and leaving the main body of his troops in the camp and selecting the most suitable of his men, he had them armed lightly and led them through the narrow parts of the road during the night and seized on the spots which had been previously occupied by the enemy ; they having, according to their regular custom, abandoned them for the nearest town.

When day broke the natives saw what had taken place, and at first desisted from their attempts, but, presently, the sight of the immense string of beasts of burden, and of the cavalry slowly and painfully making the ascent, tempted them to attack the advancing line. Accordingly they fell upon it at many points at once ; and the Carthaginians sustained severe losses ; not so much at the hands of the enemy as from the dangerous nature of the ground, which proved especially fatal to the horses and beasts of burden. For as the ascent was not only narrow and rough, but flanked also with precipices, at every movement which tended to throw the line into disorder, large numbers of the beasts of burden were hurled down the precipices with their loads on their backs. And what added more than anything else to this confusion were the wounded horses ; for, maddened by their wounds, they either turned round and ran into the advancing beasts of burden, or, rushing furiously forward, dashed aside everything that came in their way on the narrow path, and so threw the whole line into disorder. Hannibal saw what was taking place, and knowing that, even if they escaped this attack, they could never survive the loss of all their baggage, he took with him the men who had seized the strongholds during the night and went to the relief of the advancing line. Having the advantage of charging the enemy from the higher ground, he inflicted a severe loss upon them, but suffered also as severe a one in his own army ; for the com-

motion in the line now grew worse, and in both directions at once—thanks to the shouting and struggling of the combatants ; and it was not until he had killed the greater number of the Allobroges, and forced the rest to fly to their own land, that the remainder of the beasts of burden and the horses got slowly, and with difficulty, over the dangerous ground. Hannibal himself rallied as many as he could after the fight, and assaulted the town from which the enemy had sallied, and finding it almost deserted, because its inhabitants had been all tempted out by the hope of booty, he got possession of it ; from which he obtained many advantages for the future as well as the present. The immediate gain consisted of a large number of horses and beasts of burden, and men taken with them ; and for future use he got a supply of corn and cattle sufficient for two or three days, but the most important result of all was the terror inspired in the next tribes, which prevented any one of those who lived near the ascent from lightly venturing to meddle with him again."

After one day's rest the army did three days' march without accident, but on the fourth a fresh danger arose. " The dwellers along his route, having concerted a plan of treachery, met Hannibal with branches and garlands, which among nearly all the natives are signs of friendship . . . . He was cautious about accepting such assurances, and took great pains to discover what their real purpose and intention were. The Gauls, however, professed to be fully aware of the capture of the town and the destruction of those who had attempted to do him wrong, and explained that those events had induced them to come, because they wished neither to inflict nor receive any damage, and finally promised to give him hostages." After long hesitation he feigned to accept their offer of friendship. The barbarians handed over the hostages, supplied him liberally with cattle, and, in fact, put themselves unreservedly into his hands ; so that for a time Hannibal's suspicions were allayed and he employed them as guides for the next difficulty that had to be passed. They guided the army for two days, and then these tribes collected their numbers, and keeping close up with the Carthaginians, attacked them just as they were passing through a certain difficult and precipitous gorge.

Hannibal's army would now have certainly been utterly destroyed, had it not been for the fact that his fears were still on the alert, and that having a prescience of what was to come, he had placed his baggage and cavalry in the van and his hoplites in the rear. These latter covered his line, and were able to stem the attack of the enemy, and accordingly the disaster was less than it otherwise would have been. As it was,

however, a large number of beasts of burden and horses perished; for the advantage of the higher ground being with the enemy, the Gauls moved along the slopes parallel with the army below, and by rolling down boulders, or throwing stones reduced the troops to a state of the utmost confusion and danger ; so that Hannibal with half his force was obliged to pass the night near a certain white rock, which afforded them protection, separated from his horses and baggage which he was covering ; until after a whole night's struggle they slowly and with difficulty emerged from the gorge.

Next morning the enemy had disappeared ; and Hannibal, having effected a junction with his cavalry and baggage, led his men towards the head of the pass, without falling in again with any important muster of natives, though he was harassed by some of them from time to time ; who seized favourable opportunities, now on his van and now on his rear, of carrying off some of his baggage. His best protection was his elephants ; on whatever parts of the line they were placed the enemy never ventured to approach, being terrified at the unwonted appearance of the animals. The ninth day's march brought him to the head of the pass, and there he encamped for two days, partly to rest his men and partly to allow stragglers to come up. Whilst they were there many of the horses who had taken fright and run away and many of the beasts of burden that had got rid of their loads unexpectedly appeared ; they had followed the tracks of the army and now joined the camp.

But by this time . . . . " the snow was beginning to be thick on the heights " ; and the men were in very low spirits. Hannibal tried to cheer them by pointing to the view over the plains of the Padus, and reminding them of the friendly welcome they could expect from the Gauls who lived there. He then began the descent, and from the dangerous ground and from the snow lost nearly as many men as in the ascent. " For the path down was narrow and precipitous, and the snow made it impossible for the men to see where they were treading, while to step aside from the path, or to stumble, meant being hurled down the precipices. The troops, however, bore up against the fatigue, having now grown accustomed to such hardships ; but when they came to a place where the path was too narrow for the elephants or beasts of burden to pass—and which, narrowed before by landslips extending about a stade and a half, had recently been made more so by another landslip—then once more despondency and consternation fell upon the troops." Hannibal's first idea of avoiding this spot by a detour had to be abandoned owing to a snow storm.

" The effect of the storm was peculiar and extraordinary.

For the present fall coming on the top of that which was there before and had remained from the last winter, it was found that the former, being fresh, was soft and offered no resistance to the foot; but when the feet reached the lower frozen snow, they could no longer make any impression upon it, but the men found both their feet slipping from under them, as though they were on a hard ground with a layer of mud on the top. And a still more serious difficulty followed; for not being able to get a foothold on the lower snow, when they fell and tried to get themselves up by their hands and knees, the men found themselves plunging downwards quicker and quicker, along with everything they laid hold of, the ground being a very steep decline. The beasts, however, when they fell, did break through this lower snow as they struggled to rise, and having done so were obliged to remain there with their loads, as though they were frozen to it, both from the weight of these loads and the hardness of the old snow. Giving up, therefore, all hope of making this detour, he encamped upon the ridge after clearing away the snow upon it. He then set large parties of his men to work, and with infinite toil began constructing a road on the face of the precipice. The day's work sufficed to make a path practicable for beasts of burden and horses; and he accordingly took them across at once, and having pitched his camp at a spot below the snow line, he let them go in search of pasture; while he told off the Numidians in detachments to proceed with the making of the road; and after three days' difficult and painful labour he got his elephants across, though in a miserable condition fron hunger. . . . . So Hannibal mustered his forces and continued the descent; and on the third day after passing the precipitous path just described he reached the plains.

"From the beginning of his march he had lost many men by the hands of the enemy, and in crossing rivers, and many more on the precipices and dangerous passes of the Alps; and not only men in this last way, but horses and beasts of burden in still greater numbers. The whole march from New Carthage[1] had occupied five months, the actual passage of the Alps fifteen days; and he now boldly entered the valley of the Padus . . . . with such of his army as survived, consisting of twelve thousand Libyans, and eight thousand Iberians; and not more than six thousand cavalry in all, as he himself distinctly states on the column erected on the promontory of Lacinium."[2]

By this time Scipio had returned to Italy and been joined

[1]Now Carthagena.

[2]Poly. *Hist.*, III, 48-56. Polybius states that he had himself found this inscription. Hannibal left Spain with 59,999 men and crossed the Rhone with 46,000. III, 33, 35, 60.

by the other consul, Tiberius Sempronius Longus. He was in no hurry to attack Hannibal, even when they came within reach of each other, but having been wounded in a skirmish, he was obliged to leave the command to his colleague, who brought on a general engagement on the Trebbia, in which he suffered a complete defeat. The Carthaginians were in a high state of exultation, but they had lost a large number of men and horses in the snow and rain which followed the battles, and all the elephants, excepting one, died.[1]

217 B.C.

The consuls with the relics of their army made good their retreat, and preparations were at once begun for the next year's campaign.

Early in 217 the consul, C. Flaminius, was sent to Arretium (Arezzo) to guard the passes of the Apennines; the man who, when censor, had made the Via Flaminia. It was by this way that the legions marched later on to conquer Gaul and Spain and Germany and Britain. "But the first army that went out by the northern road was that of the consul Flaminius himself, and it was not a Roman victory that made memorable the shore of Lac Thrasymene."

Hannibal, having arrived in the valley of the Arno, determined to pass Arretium and make a descent into the districts beyond. He had learned that Flaminius had no ability in military affairs,[2] and was unreasonably confident in his own resources, and calculated that he could entice him to follow wherever he went. In this the Carthaginian was not mistaken, for no sooner had he advanced beyond the Roman camp and made "a raid upon the neighbouring country than Flaminius became excited and enraged at the idea that he was despised by the enemy; and, as the devastation of the country went on and he saw from the smoke that rose in every direction that the work of destruction was proceeding, he could not patiently endure the sight. Some of his officers advised that they should not follow the enemy at once nor engage him, but act on the defensive, in view of his great superiority in cavalry; and

[1] Ibid. III, 61-74. Livy, XXVI, v, says Hannibal had thirty-three elephants at Capua, but as Polybius knew many men who had fought in the expedition, his would seem to be the best authority.

[2] Appian says that Flaminius was "inexperienced in war" and had been "wafted into power on a popular breeze." Hannibal, "well aware of his rashness and inexperience, moved forward and took a position with a mountain and a lake before him, concealing his light armed troops and his cavalry in a ravine." *Han. War*, VII, 9, 10.

especially that they should wait for the other consul, and not give battle until the two armies were combined. But Flaminius, far from listening to their advice, was indignant at those who offered it, and bade them consider what the people at home would say at the country being laid waste almost up to the gates of Rome itself, while they remained encamped in Etruria in the enemy's rear. Finally, with these words he set his army in motion without any settled plan of time or place, but bent only on falling in with the enemy, as though certain victory awaited him."[1]

The exact spot on which the battle of Trasimene was fought has long been a matter of dispute; it is said that the descriptions given by Polybius and Livy do not agree; but I am not quite certain about this. Merivale's remark that the fog prevailing on the battle-day seems to have got into the latter historian's head, as it is impossible to recognise the spot from his description, is absurd. To anyone who knows the ground there can be no doubt possible as to what spot he meant, i.e., the modern Pianto Sanguineta between Borghetto and Passignano. Whether the battle was fought there is, of course, another thing, as Polybius' description would seem to point to a locality at the eastern end of the lake,[2] but it would not be a good description even of that spot, and I think it *might* be read as applying almost equally well to the Pianto Sanguineta. To the lay mind it seems certain that Hannibal would have chosen this spot for his ambuscade. I give Livy's account of the fight, which was taken, in part, at any rate, from a contemporary.

"Hannibal had now reached a position eminently adapted for surprise tactics, where the lake comes up close under the hills of Cortona. There is only a very narrow road here between the hills and the lake, as though a space had been purposely left for it. Further on there is a small expanse of level ground flanked by hills, and it was here that Hannibal pitched camp, which was only occupied by his Africans and Spaniards, he himself being in command. The Balearics and the rest of the light infantry he sent behind the hills; the cavalry, conveniently screened by some low hills, he stationed at the mouth of the defile, so that when the Romans had entered it they would be completely shut in by the cavalry, the lake and the hills.

"Flaminius had reached the lake at sunset. The next morning, in a still uncertain light, he passed through the defile without sending any scouts on to feel the way, and when the column began to deploy in the wider extent of level ground the only enemy they saw was the one in front; the rest were

[1] Poly. Hist., III, 82.

[2] Where the road turns away from the lake near La Torricella.

concealed in their rear and above their heads. When the Carthaginian saw his object achieved and had his enemy shut in between the lake and the hills with his forces surrounding them, he gave the signal for all to make a simultaneous attack, and they charged straight down upon the point nearest to them. The affair was all the more sudden and unexpected to the Romans because a fog which had risen from the lake was denser on the plain than on the heights; the bodies of the enemy on the various hills could see each other well enough, and it was all the easier for them to charge all at the same time. The shout of battle rose round the Romans before they could see clearly from whence it came, or became aware that they were surrounded. . . . .

" In the universal panic, the consul displayed all the coolness that could be expected under the circumstances . . . . and whenever he could be seen or heard he encouraged his men and bade them stand and fight. ' It is not by prayers or entreaties to the gods that you must make your way out,' he said, ' but by your strength and your courage. It is the sword that cuts a path through the middle of the enemy, and where there is less fear there is generally less danger.' But such was the uproar and confusion that neither counsel nor command could be heard, and so far was the soldier from recognising his standard or his company or his place in the ranks that he had hardly sufficient presence of mind to get hold of his weapons and make them available for use, and some who had found them a burden rather than a protection, were overtaken by the enemy. In such a thick fog, ears were of more use than eyes ; the men turned their gaze in every direction as they heard the groans of the wounded and the blows on shield or breastplate, and the mingled shouts of triumph and cries of panic. Some who tried to fly ran into a dense body of combatants and could get no further ; others who were returning to the fray were swept away by a rush of fugitives. At last, when ineffective charges had been made in every direction and they found themselves completely hemmed in by the lake and the hills on either side and by the enemy in front and rear, it became clear to every man that his only hope of safety lay in his own right hand and his sword. Then each began to depend on himself . . . . each man took his place in front or rear as his courage prompted him, and such was the ardour of the combatants, so intent were they on the battle, that not a single man on the field was aware of the earthquake which levelled large portions of many towns in Italy, altered the course of swift streams, brought the sea up into the rivers, and occasioned enormous landslips among the mountains.

" For almost three hours the fighting went on ; everywhere a

desperate struggle was kept up, but it raged with greater fierceness round the consul. He was followed by the pick of his army and wherever he saw his men hard pressed and in difficulties he at once went to their help. Distinguished by his armour, he was the object of the enemy's fiercest attacks, which his comrades did their utmost to repel, until an Insubrian horseman who knew the consul by sight—his name was Ducarius—cried out to his countrymen : ' Here is the man who slew our legions and laid waste our city and our lands ! I will offer him in sacrifice to the shades of my foully murdered countrymen.' Digging spurs into his horse he charged into the dense masses of the enemy and slew an armour-bearer who threw himself in the way as he galloped up, lance in rest, and then plunged his lance into the consul ; but the *triarii* protected the body with their shields and prevented him from despoiling it.

" Then began a general flight ; neither lake nor mountain stopped the panic-stricken fugitives ; they rushed like blind men over cliff and defile, men and arms tumbled pell-mell on one another. A large number, finding no avenue of escape, went into the water up to their shoulders ; some in their wild terror even attempted to escape by swimming, an endless and hopeless task in that lake. Either their spirits gave way and they were drowned, or else, finding their efforts fruitless, they regained with great difficulty the shallow water at the edge of the lake and were butchered in all directions by the enemy's cavalry, who had ridden into the water.

" About 6,000 men who had formed the head of the line of march cut their way through the enemy and cleared the defile, quite unconscious of all that had been going on behind them. They halted on some rising ground, and listened to the shouting below and the clash of arms, but were unable, owing to the fog, to see or find out what the fortunes of the fight were.

" At last, when the battle was over and the sun's heat had dispelled the fog, mountain and plain revealed in the clear light the disastrous overthrow of the Roman army, and showed only too plainly that all was lost . . . . This was the famous battle of Trasumennus, and a disaster for Rome memorable as few others have been. Fifteen thousand Romans were killed in action ; 1,000 fugitives were scattered all over Etruria and reached the City by divers routes ; 2,500 of the enemy perished on the field, many in both armies afterwards of their wounds. Other authors give the loss on each side as many times greater, but I refuse to indulge in the idle exaggerations to which writers are far too much given, and, what is more, I am supported by the authority of Fabius, who was living during the war."[1]

[1]Livy, XXII, iv-vii. Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent by the Romans

Merivale says that party feeling has coloured the language of ancient writers about Flaminius, and that we must remember that "if the defile of Trasimene witnessed his rashness, it also contains his honourable grave." If Merivale had even seen the defile he would have known that it did not require any party feeling to condemn a man for entering it, without even trying to find out if the enemy held the surrounding hills.

Rome was panic-stricken; every hour the appearance of Hannibal was expected; the Senate alone kept calm. For several days they sat from sunrise to sunset debating what measures should be taken, and appointed Q. Fabius Maximus dictator, with Marcus Minucius Rufus as master of the horse.

Meanwhile, Hannibal had directed his march to the coast of the Adriatic, and then attacked Spoleto, from which he was repulsed.[1] Realising the great difficulties which would attend the capture of Rome, he decided to delay his attempt on that city. Fabius, on his part, determined not to risk a battle, but constantly to harass and wear down the enemy. By these tactics, which greatly annoyed both the Romans and Minucius, he earned the name of Cunctator, the Lingerer. In his chief's absence, the master of the horse won some slight success, of which he sent a highly-coloured account to Rome; popular feeling was voiced by C. Terentius Varro, and the Senate gave Minucius an equal command with the dictator. Fabius gave up half the army, with which Minucius allowed himself to be drawn into a general engagement, and would have been utterly defeated had not the dictator come to his rescue. Plutarch tells the story very charmingly. When Fabius saw his colleague's discomfiture he ordered his standard bearer to advance, and cried to his men, "If anyone has a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert himself; for he deserves assistance for his valour and the love he bears his country." Hannibal withdrew his forces when he saw the enemy so strongly reinforced, and Fabius returned to his post without letting fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague.[2] Minucius showed himself worthy of generous treatment, for he called his men together and thus addressed them: "Friends and fellow-soldiers! Not to err at all in the management of great affairs

after the battle of Cannae to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. Appian, *Han. War* VII, 27.

[1] Livy, XXII, ix.

[2] "Thus did Fabius save Minucius from a great disaster, bearing him no malice for his slander. Then Minucius, recognizing his own want of experience, laid down his command and delivered his part of the army to Fabius, who held to the belief that the only time for a skilled captain to fight is when it is necessary." Appian, *Han. War*, VII, 13.

is above the wisdom of men, but it is the part of a prudent and good man to learn from his errors and miscarriages to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in so long a time, I have learned in the small compass of one day, that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another ; and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be foiled by. In all other respects the dictator shall be your commander ; but in the due expression of gratitude to him I will be your leader still."[1]

Thus ended the second campaign, not greatly to the satisfaction of either party.

216 B.C.

In the year 216 B.C. C. Terentius Varro and L. Aemilius Paulus were elected consuls and went together to confront the Carthaginians, being in command of the army on alternate days. Before the departure of the latter consul, Fabius gave him much sound advice, using among others these words, " You are mistaken, if you imagine that you will have less difficulty with Caius Terentius than with Hannibal ; I rather think the former will prove a more dangerous enemy than the latter. With the one you will only have to contend in the field, the opposition of the other you will have to meet everywhere and always."[2] Fabius' estimate of Varro was unfortunately true ; refusing to be guided by the advice of Paulus, he offered battle at Cannae and sustained a defeat than which history does not record any more complete and few more murderous. Aemilius did his best to support his rival and was killed. " A man who did his duty to his country at that last hour of his life, as he did throughout its previous years, if any man ever did."[3] Cornelius Lentulus, a military tribune, saw Paulus covered with blood sitting on a boulder. " Lucius Aemilius," he said, " the one man whom the gods must hold guiltless of this day's disaster, take this horse while you have still some strength left and I can lift you into the saddle and keep by your side to protect you. Do not make this day of battle still more fatal by a consul's death ; there are enough tears and mourning without that." The consul replied : " Long may you live to do brave

[1]Plut. *Life of Fab. Maximus.* There is in the Capitoline museum an altar raised to Hercules by Minucius.

[2]Livy, XXII, xxxix.

[3]Poly., III, cxvi, 9.

deeds, Cornelius, but do not waste in useless pity the few moments left in which to escape from the hands of the enemy. Go, announce publicly to the Senate that they must fortify Rome and make its defences strong before the victorious enemy approaches, and tell Quintus Fabius privately that I have ever remembered his precepts in life and in death."[1]

Even now Hannibal did not march on Rome, but went instead to Capua. Some of the Roman officers now declared that they would quit Italy and offer their swords to some foreign prince, but the young Publius Scipio (afterwards the great Africanus) held a naked sword over their heads and forced them to swear that they would not abandon their country. Varro used all his efforts to collect the remains of his broken army, and sent word to the Senate that he had gathered together about 10,000 men, though in a very disorganised condition. C. Claudius Marcellus was sent to take command, and Varro was ordered to return to Rome. It must have been with a troubled heart that he approached the city; but as he drew near the Senate and the people went out to meet him and thanked him "for that he had not despaired of the Republic." Most of southern Italy now declared in favour of Hannibal. Fabius became virtually chief of the Senate and people, and his policy was rigorously carried out. The war was prosecuted in Spain,[2] in Sicily and in Macedonia; in Italy fortune favoured sometimes one side, sometimes the other. Capua, besieged by the Romans, sent an urgent message to Hannibal, begging for help; but in an assault on the enemy's lines he was beaten off with loss.

[1]Livy, XXII, xlix. It was the son of this man, another Lucius Aemilius Paulus, who broke the power of Macedon in 168 B.C., at the battle of Pydna. Though over sixty he led one of the legions in person and "discharged the duty of youth, taking on himself the principal share both of the labour and the danger." He was so successful that he feared some bad fortune must follow, and in a speech to the Roman people made later on told them he had prayed that his own house rather than the commonwealth might feel the change. His prayer was answered, for his triumph took place between the funerals of his two sons. King Perseus was led in chains before his chariot. "Yet he," said Aemilius, "who, himself in captivity, saw his children led captive, has them still in safety; while I, who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the Capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the Capitol to the bed of the other, just expiring. In the house of Paulus, except the old man, none remains. However, your happiness and the prosperous state of the commonwealth console me for the ruin of my house." Livy XLIV, xli, xlii; XLV, xli. Paulus had actually two other sons living, but they had been given in adoption; one of these was Publius Scipio Africanus the Younger.

[2]After the death there of P. Cornelius Scipio, his son Publius (Africanus) was elected, though only twenty-four, to go and take command of the Roman army; he landed in Spain in 210.

211 B.C.

Only one hope remained for Capua. It was possible that if he threatened Rome itself the besieging army might be recalled; but though he encamped on the Anio three miles from the capital,[1] only part of the army was sent home; and after some ineffectual engagements the Carthaginians retreated into Bruttium.

207 B.C.

Hannibal had, however, at this time expectation of help from Spain and in 207 his brother Hasdrubal arrived in Italy with his forces. One of the consuls, Marcus Livius, was sent to Sena Gallica[2] to await him. The other, C. Claudius Nero, took command in southern Italy against Hannibal. Hasdrubal, after fruitlessly besieging Placentia,[3] marched to the Metaurus, which runs into the Adriatic a few miles north of Sena Gallica.[4] From here he wrote to Hannibal, suggesting that they should unite their armies in Southern Umbria and then wheel round against Rome. This letter fell into the hands of Claudius Nero, who at once realised that if the capital was to be saved the brothers must never meet alive. He decided to break the law which forbade a consul to take his army beyond his own province, and to hurry to the aid of Livius. Messengers were sent to the peoples through whose territory he proposed to pass, bidding them bring to the roadside provisions ready dressed, and also horses and beasts of burden. He selected 6,000 infantry and 1,000 horse from among his choicest troops, gave out that he was going into Lucania, and then setting out by night, he turned off toward Picenum and pushed forward with all speed. The roads were lined with women and children, calling them the safeguards of the State and praying for their success, giving generously everything they could need. The

[1] "Hannibal advanced his camp to the Anio, three miles from the city [Rome], and riding up took as near a view as he could of the walls and site of the city." A cavalry engagement took place in which the Romans were successful. The next day Hannibal "crossing the Anio, drew out all his forces in order of battle; nor did Flaccus and the consuls decline to fight." When, however, the troops on both sides were ready they were disordered by such a shower of rain and hail that they both retired. The next day the same thing happened. The Carthaginian regarded this as a divine interposition. Two other things also diminished his hopes. While he encamped near, a body of reinforcements for Spain marched out with colours flying and the ground on which his camp stood was sold for its ordinary price." Livy, XXVI, x, xi.

[2] Senigallia.

[3] Piacenza.

[4] The actual sight of the battle of the Metaurus is uncertain; the reputed place is near Calmazzo.

soldiers took their food without quitting the ranks and marched day and night, barely even taking such rest as was necessary, accomplishing about 250 miles in seven days. Messengers had been sent to Livius, and he arranged that each of his officers and men should receive one of the same rank from Nero's army into his tent, so that no enlargement of the camp should betray to Hasdrubal that reinforcements had reached his opponent. During the march the consul had augmented his army by volunteers. He encamped under cover of the hills when he drew near his colleague's camp, and entered it when night fell. The next day a council was held, at which many inclined to the opinion that Nero's men should be rested before an engagement was hazarded; but he earnestly entreated them not to delay. So far Hannibal had apparently not discovered that his—Nero's—camp was without a leader, and had neither attacked it nor started in pursuit of him; and if Hasdrubal were defeated at once, he might return before Hannibal moved at all. These arguments prevailed, the signal for battle was displayed and the troops immediately led into the field.

The Carthaginians were already under arms, but Hasdrubal thought that the enemy's numbers seemed greater than before, and that some of the men and horses looked as if they had made a recent march. Suspecting, therefore, what was really the case, he sounded the retreat, and sent out scouts. Their report was that the camps were not enlarged, but that the signal had sounded once in the praetor's camp, but twice in the consuls'; there must therefore be two consuls present. Fearing his brother must have experienced a signal defeat, he gave orders to march early in the night; but the guides having deserted, the troops wandered aimlessly about the fields, and endeavoured to follow the river, meaning to cross as soon as daylight returned. The stream being tortuous, he made but little progress, and wasted the day looking fruitlessly for a ford. Thus the enemy had time to overtake him, Nero arriving first with his cavalry, then L. Porcius with the light infantry, Livius following with the rest of the army. Hasdrubal stopped his march, which resembled a flight, as soon as he saw that an engagement was inevitable, and drew up his forces. A furious contest followed, in which the slaughter on both sides was dreadful. Hasdrubal's conduct was most worthy of record; he encouraged his men and shared every danger; sometimes entreating, sometimes rebuking, he re-kindled their spirits; he called back the flying, and restored the battle in many places where it had been given up; but at length, seeing that fortune had decided for the Romans, he put spurs to his horse, galloped

into a Roman cohort and fell in a way worthy of the brother of Hannibal.

Nero set out on the night following the battle and reached his own camp on the sixth day; he showed Hannibal what had happened by hurling Hasdrubal's head into his brother's lines.[1] Not so had the Carthaginian treated the corpse of the Roman general Marcellus.

Meanwhile terrible agitation had prevailed in Rome, Nero's intention having been by him made known to the Senate. Vague reports of good news were received, which gradually grew more definite, then a letter arrived telling of victory, and finally the approach of officers bearing despatches from the consuls was announced. People of all ages ran to meet them, one continuous train extended as far as the Milvian Bridge[2]; the officers made their way with difficulty to the Senate-house, and, the crowd with still more difficulty being removed, gave an account of what had happened amidst great approbation and at last of general shouting from the assembly. The Senate decreed a supplication for three days because Marcus Livius and Caius Claudius had cut off the general and legions of the enemy, their own army being safe.[3]

The consuls met at Palestrina and from there advanced to the temple of Bellona in the Campus Martius, where they were met by the Senate. In the triumph which followed Livius rode in the car, as the battle had been fought in his province, but all eyes were turned on the man on horseback beside him, Claudius Nero. To this victory of his "it might be owing that his imperial namesake reigned at all. But the infamy of the one has eclipsed the glory of the other. When the name of Nero is heard, who thinks of the consul?"

The battle of the Metaurus may be said to have ended the war in Italy, though Hannibal, saying sadly "that he recognised the ill-fortune of Carthage," maintained himself in Bruttium for another four years, "almost more admirable in adversity than in prosperity. Even now no Roman general was able to gain a victory over him; even now every veteran soldier remained faithful to his great leader. But he was driven into a corner, and stood like a lion at bay, still terrible, but without hope."

One cannot but feel an immense sympathy for Hannibal, but his countrymen were vastly inferior to himself, and it was fortunate for civilisation that the battle of the Metaurus ended in a Roman victory.

[1] Livy, XXVII, xliii-li.
[2] Ponte Molle.
[3] Livy, XXVII, li.

When at last he was recalled to defend Carthage he is said to have gnashed his teeth with rage and scarcely refrained from shedding tears, and as he sailed from the shores of Italy he cursed himself in that he had not, after killing a hundred thousand men at Trasimene and Cannae, led his troops straight to Rome. After his arrival in Africa he had an interview[1] with Scipio to discuss terms of peace, but nothing came of it, and returning to their respective armies, the two generals announced that " before to-morrow night they would know whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to the world ; and that neither Africa nor Italy, but the whole world, would be the prize of victory."

202 B.C.

The final battle was fought at Zama, and Hannibal was completely defeated. After doing all that was possible he escaped to Adrumetum ; some people asserted that he made straight for the sea-coast and sailed to join Antiochus of Syria, so that when Scipio demanded his surrender it was replied that Hannibal was no longer in Africa.[2]

201 B.C.

Peace was made in 201, and Publius Cornelius Scipio, saluted with the title of Africanus, enjoyed the most splendid triumph that had yet ascended to the Capitol.[3]

146 B.C.

In 146 took place the destruction of Carthage by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Younger. The Carthaginians knew that it was a life and death struggle, and " every man and every woman laboured to the utmost for the defence of the city with a furious enthusiasm." After two years of desperate fighting and splendid heroism, the famished garrison could no longer hold the walls of the city, and Rome decreed that the place should be for ever left desolate. The ruins were burning for seventeen days and Polybius, who was present, tells us Scipio shed tears at " the sight of the city utterly perishing amidst

[1]This interview has been doubted.

[2]Livy, XXX, xx, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvii. Livy, though noting this latter statement, gives speeches made by Hannibal during the negociations for peace as if he himself did not believe the general had at once left his native country. But if he had not done so it is difficult to imagine how the Carthaginians could have escaped giving him up to Scipio, who would surely have demanded him.

[3]Livy, XXX, xlv.

the flames"; and also relates that after having given the order for firing the town Scipio "immediately turned round and grasped me by the hand and said: 'O Polybius, it is a grand thing, but, I know not how, I feel a terror and dread lest some one should one day give the same order about my own native city.'"[1]

The supreme figure in the Second Punic War is, of course, the great Carthaginian himself, and as one follows him from the Ebro to Zama one is filled with wonder and admiration for his marvellous genius. It has been said that Napoleon was perhaps the only man who was superior or even equal to him as a general; but Napoleon did not have his difficulties to contend with. The composition of his army alone—made up as it was of many nations—would have fatally hampered most men; but he was looked upon by each people as their own chief; they all loved him and come good fortune or bad no man deserted him; though "for sixteen continuous years Hannibal maintained the war with Italy, without once releasing his army from service in the field, but keeping those vast numbers under control, like a good pilot, without any sign of disaffection towards himself or towards each other . . . . And yet circumstances were not by any means unvarying; for though the breeze of fortune often set strongly in his favour, it as often also blew in exactly the opposite direction."[2]

Hannibal formed his plans with infinite patience and secrecy and executed them with marvellous promptitude; his quick perceptions and great sagacity enabled him to form wonderfully correct judgments regarding future events and distant countries; he had intellectual tastes and showed great talents as a statesman; he had frank winning manners, a genial temper, and a strong will; he was stronger, more active and more enduring than most of his men, and never required others to do anything he could not do himself.

To set against this he is said to have been treacherous and cruel; as regards the first accusation, we do not hear of any occasion on which he broke faith with Rome; as regards the second, it must be admitted that he was indifferent to human life; but Polybius does not seem to think the charge of cruelty was proved.[3] And it must be remembered that what we know of him comes from the most part from hostile sources, and the Romans dreaded him too bitterly to be just to him.

His life was one continuous struggle against destiny; from

[1] Polybius, XXXVIII, 22, 21.
[2] Ibid, XI, 19.
[3] Ibid, IX, 22, 24.

Carthage he received the most grudging support[1]; but for "steadfastness of purpose, for organising capacity and a mastery of military science, he has perhaps never had an equal." After peace was restored he worked hard for his country, and when Rome, trembling at the renewed prosperity of Carthage, demanded his surrender, he went into exile to save her the disgrace of compliance. He could have prolonged the war with Rome, had he so wished, and if he made peace it was that he might reform the government at home and prepare to renew the war at some future time. For at Zama he was defeated but not subdued; and he was then only in his forty-sixth year.

The Romans bore him implacable hatred and pursued him always with their rancour; he on his side intrigued with her enemies, Antiochus of Syria and others. In 183 the Romans demanded his surrender from Prusias of Bythynia, who sent men to surround his residence. Finding it impossible to escape, "he called for poison which he had long kept in readiness for such an event and said, 'Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they think it too long to wait for the death of an old man.'"[2]

[1]He said himself that he had been conquered, not by the Roman people, who had been so often slain and routed, but by the Carthaginian Senate, through envy and detraction. Livy, XXX, xx.

[2]Livy, XXXIX, li.

APPENDIX II.

THE GREAT FIRE OF ROME

In the year 64 took place the great fire of Rome. Tacitus, who was then about ten years old, has left a most vivid description of it.[1] As to its origin he does not seem so certain as Suetonius; the latter says: "Somebody in conversation saying, 'When I am dead, let fire devour the world,' 'Nay,' said he, [Nero] 'let it be while I am living.' And he acted accordingly; for, pretending to be disgusted with the old buildings and the narrow and winding streets, he set the city on fire so openly that many of consular rank caught his own servants on their property with tow and torches in their hands."[2] But Tacitus does not seem so sure of this. He says: "There followed a dreadful disaster; whether fortuitously, or by the wicked contrivance of the prince, is not determined, for both are asserted by historians . . . . It broke out in that part of the Circus which is contiguous to Mounts Palatine and Coelius; where, by reason of shops in which were kept such goods as minister aliment to fire, the moment it commenced it acquired strength, and being accelerated by the wind, it spread at once through the whole extent of the Circus, for neither were the houses secured by enclosures, nor the temples environed with walls, nor was there any other obstacle to intercept its progress; but the flame, spreading every way impetuously, invaded first the lower regions of the city, then mounted to the higher; then again ravaging the lower, it baffled every effort to extinguish it, by the rapidity of its destructive course, and from the liability of the city to conflagration, in consequence of the narrow and intricate alleys, and the irregularity of the streets in ancient Rome. Add to this the wailing of terrified women, the infirm condition of the aged, and the helplessness of childhood; such as strove to provide for themselves, and those who laboured to assist others; these dragging the feeble, those waiting for them; some hurrying, others lingering, altogether

[1] Tac. *Annals*, XV, 38-41.
[2] Suet. *Nero*, XXXVIII

created a scene of universal confusion and embarrassment ; and while they looked back upon the danger in the rear, they often found themselves beset before, and on their sides, or if they had escaped into the quarters adjoining, these, too, were already seized by the devouring flames ; even the parts which they believed remote and exempt, were found to be in the same distress. At last, not knowing what to shun or where to seek sanctuary, they crowded the streets, and lay along in the open fields. Some, from the loss of their whole substance, even the means of their daily sustenance, others, from affection for their relatives, whom they had not been able to snatch from the flames, suffered themselves to perish in them, though they had opportunity to escape. Neither dared any man offer to check the fire ; so repeated were the menaces of many who forbade to extinguish it ; and because others openly threw firebrands, with loud declarations, 'that they had one who authorised them,' whether they did it that they might plunder with the less restraint or in consequence of orders given. Nero, who was at that juncture sojourning at Antium, did not return to the city until the fire approached that quarter of his house which connected the palace with the gardens of Maecenas ; nor could it, however, be prevented from devouring the house and palace and everything round. But for the relief of the people thus destitute, and driven from their dwellings, he opened the field of Mars and the monumental edifices erected by Agrippa, and even his own gardens. He likewise reared temporary houses for the reception of the forlorn multitude ; and from Ostia and the neighbouring cities were brought, up the river, household necessaries ; and the price of grain was reduced to three sesterces the measure. All which proceedings, though of a popular character, were thrown away, because a rumour had become universally current, 'that at the very time when the city was in flames, Nero, going on the stage of his private theatre sang the Destruction of Troy, assimilating the present disaster to that catastrophe of ancient times.'

"At length on the sixth day the conflagration was stayed . . . by pulling down an immense quantity of buildings . . . But ere the consternation had subsided, the fire broke out afresh, with no little violence, but in regions more spacious, and therefore with less destruction of human life ; but more extensive havoc was made of the temples, and the porticoes dedicated to amusement . . . . Of the fourteen sections into which Rome is divided, four were still standing entire, three were levelled with the ground, and in the seven others there remained only here and there a few remnants of houses shattered and half-consumed."

The following important buildings were destroyed among others ; the temple of Vesta with the palace of Numa, and the chapel vowed by Romulus to Jupiter Stator.[1]

Tacitus continues that nothing he could do availed to " relieve Nero from the infamy of being believed to have ordered the conflagration, hence, to suppress the rumour, he falsely charged with the guilt . . . . the persons commonly called Christians."

[1]Tacitus *Ann.*, XV, 38-41.

APPENDIX III.

THE ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS[1]

" YOUR request that I would send you an account of my uncle's death, in order to remit a more exact relation of it to posterity, deserves my acknowledgements; for, if this accident shall be celebrated by your pen the glory of it, I am well assured, will be rendered for ever illustrious . . .[2] He was at that time with the fleet under his command at Misenum. On the 24th of August about one in the afternoon, my mother desired him to observe a cloud which appeared of a very unusual size and shape . . . He immediately arose and went out upon a rising ground from whence he might get a better sight of this very uncommon appearance. A cloud, from which mountain was uncertain at this distance (but it was found afterwards to come from Mount Vesuvius), was ascending, the appearance of which I cannot give you a more exact description of than by likening it to that of a pine-tree, for it shot up to a great height in the form of a very tall trunk, which spread itself out at the top into a sort of branches; occasioned, I imagine, either by a sudden gust of air that impelled it, the force of which decreased as it advanced upwards, or the cloud itself being pressed back again by its own weight, expanded in the manner I have mentioned; it appeared sometimes bright and sometimes dark and spotted, according as it was either more or less impregnated with earth and cinders. This phenomenon seemed to a man of such learning and research as my uncle extraordinary and worth further looking into. He ordered a light vessel to be got ready, and gave me leave, if I liked, to accompany him. I said I had rather go on with my work. . ." He then received as he was leaving the house a letter from a friend whose villa lay at the foot of Vesuvius and who had no way of escape but by sea, begging him to go to her assistance. " He accordingly changed

[1]The following was written by Pliny the Younger to Tacitus, who had asked him for an account of his uncle's death, which took place during this eruption.

[2]The MSS. and printed copies vary extremely from each other as to the reading of this passage.

his first intention, and what he had begun from a philosophical, he now carried out in a noble and generous, spirit. He ordered the galleys to put to sea, and went himself on board with the intention of assisting not only Rectina [friend above mentioned], but the several other towns which lay thickly strewn along that beautiful coast. Hastening then to the place from whence others fled with the utmost terror, he steered his course direct to the point of danger, and with so much calmness and presence of mind as to be able to make and dictate his observations upon the motion and all the phenomena of that dreadful scene. He was now so close to the mountain that the cinders, which grew thicker and hotter the nearer he approached, fell into the ships, together with pumice stones and black pieces of burning rock: they were in danger, too, not only of being aground by the sudden retreat of the sea, but also from the vast fragments which rolled down from the mountain and obstructed all the shore." After some consideration he went to a friend at Stabiae [Castellamare] whom he found in great consternation. To soothe his fears Plinius[1] ordered a bath, and having bathed, set down to supper, and assured his friend that the "broad flames" from Vesuvius were only burning villages which the inhabitants had abandoned; after this he retired to rest, and slept. "The court which led to his apartments being now almost filled with stones and ashes, if he had continued there any time longer, it would have been impossible for him to have made his way out. So he was awoke and got up," and joined the rest of the company who had been too anxious to go to bed. "They consulted together whether it would be most prudent to trust to the houses, which now rocked from side to side with frequent and violent concussions as though shaken from their very foundations, or fly to the open fields, where the calcined stones and cinders, though light indeed, yet fell in large showers, and threatened destruction. In this choice of dangers they resolved for the fields: a resolution which, while the rest of the company were hurried into by their fears, my uncle embraced upon cool and deliberate consideration. They went out then, having pillows tied upon their heads with napkins; and this was their whole defence against the storm of stones that fell around them. It was now day everywhere else but *there* a deeper darkness prevailed than in the thickest night; which, however, was in some degree alleviated by torches and other lights of various kind. They thought proper to go farther down upon the shore to see if they might safely put out to sea, but found the waves still running extremely high and boisterous. Then my uncle, laying

[1] What follows does not seem to tally with what has been said as to his wish to give assistance to those in danger.

himself down upon a sail cloth, which was spread for him, called twice for some cold water, which he drank, when immediately the flames, preceded by a strong whiff of sulphur, dispersed the rest of the party, and obliged him to rise. He raised himself up with the assistance of two of his servants,[1] and instantly fell down dead; suffocated, as I conjecture, by some gross and noxious vapour, having always had a weak throat. . . As soon as it was light again, which was not till the third day after this melancholy accident, his body was found entire, and without any marks of violence upon it . . . looking more like a man asleep than dead. During all this time my mother and I, who were at Misenum——but this has no connection with your history, and you did not desire any particulars besides those of my uncle's death; so I will end here, only adding that I have faithfully related to you what I was either an eye-witness of myself or received immediately after the accident happened and before there was time to vary the truth. You will pick out of this narrative whatever is most important. . . It is one thing writing to a friend, another thing writing to the public."[2]

"The letter which . . . I wrote to you concerning the death of my uncle has raised, it seems, your curiosity to know what terrors and dangers attended me while I continued at Misenum. . . . My uncle having left us, I spent such time as was left on my studies . . . till it was time for my bath. After which I went to supper, and then fell into a short and uneasy sleep. There had been noticed for many days before a trembling of the earth, which did not alarm us much, as this is quite an ordinary occurrence in Campania; but it was so particularly violent that night, that it not only shook but actually overturned, as it would seem, everything about us. My mother rushed into my chamber, where she found me rising, in order to awaken her. We sat down in the open court of the house, which occupied small space between the buildings and the sea. As I was at that time but eighteen years of age, I know not whether I should call my behaviour, in this dangerous juncture, courage or folly; but I took up Livy, and amused myself with turning over that author, and even making extracts from him, as if I had been perfectly at my leisure. Just then a friend of my uncle's . . . joined us, and observing me sitting by my mother with a book in my hand, reproved her for her calmness, and me at the same time for my careless security; nevertheless, I went on with my author. Though it was now morning, the light was still exceedingly faint and doubtful; the buildings all around us tottered, and though we stood upon open ground, yet as the

[1] He was a corpulent man.
[2] Pliny, *Letters*, Bk. VI, xvi.

place was narrow and confined, there was no remaining without eminent danger ; we therefore resolved to quit the town. A panic-stricken crowd followed us. . . Being at a convenient distance from the houses, we stood still, in the midst of a most dangerous and dreadful scene. The chariots, which we had ordered to be drawn out, were so agitated backwards and forwards, though upon the most level ground, that we could not keep them steady, even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to roll back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks from the convulsive motion of the earth ; it is certain, at least, the shore was considerably enlarged, and several sea animals were left upon it. On the other side, a black and dreadful cloud, broken into rapid, zigzag flashes, revealed behind it variously shaped masses of flame ; these last were like sheet lightning, but much larger." The friend then urged them to fly from danger, but they said they could not think of their own safety while uncertain as to the [her] brother and [his] uncle's fate. The friend precipitately withdrew. " Soon afterwards the cloud began to descend, and cover the sea. . . My mother now besought, urged, even commanded, me to make my escape at any rate, which, as I was young, I might easily do ; as for herself, she said, her age and corpulency rendered all attempts of that sort impossible ; however, she would willingly meet death if she could have the satisfaction of seeing that she was not the occasion of mine. But I absolutely refused to leave her, and, taking her by the hand, compelled her to go with me. She complied with great reluctance and not without many reproaches to herself for retarding my flight. The ashes now began to fall upon us, though in no great quantity. I looked back ; a dense dark mist seemed to be following us, spreading itself over the country like a cloud. ' Let us turn out of the high road,' I said, ' while we can still see, for fear that, should we fall in the road, we should be pressed to death in the dark, by the crowds that are following us.' We had scarcely sat down when night came upon us, not such as we have when the sky is cloudy, or when there is no moon, but that of a room when it is shut up and all the lights put out. You might hear the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the shouts of men ; some calling for their children, others for their parents, others for their husbands, and seeking to recognise each other by the voices that replied ; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family ; some wishing to die, from the very fear of dying ; some lifting their hands to the gods : but the greater part convinced that there were now no gods at all, and that the final endless night of which we have heard had come upon the world. . . It now grew rather lighter, which we imagined to

be rather the forerunner of an approaching burst of flames (as in truth it was) than the return of day ; however, the fire fell at a distance from us ; then again we were immersed in thick darkness, and a heavy shower of ashes rained upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to stand up to shake off, otherwise we should have been crushed and bruised in the heap. I might boast that, during all this scene of horror not a sigh, nor expression of fear escaped me, had not my support been grounded in that miserable, though weighty, consolation, that all mankind was involved in the same calamity, and that I was finishing with the world itself. At last this dreadful darkness was dissipated by degrees, like a cloud of smoke ; the real day returned, and even the sun shone out, though with a lurid light, like when an eclipse is coming on. Every object that presented itself to our eyes (which were extremely weakened) seemed changed, being covered deep with ashes as if with snow. We returned to Misenum, where . . . we passed an anxious night between hope and fear ; though, indeed, with a much larger share of the latter, for the earthquake still continued. . . However, my mother and I, notwithstanding the danger we had passed, and that which still threatened us, had no thoughts of leaving the place till we could receive some news of my uncle.

" And now, you will read this narrative without any view of inserting it in your history, of which it is not in the least worthy; and indeed you must put it down to your own request if it should appear not worth even the trouble of a letter. Farewell."[1]

[1]Ibid, VI, xx.

APPENDIX IV

BATTLE OF SAXA RUBRA

A.D. 312

THE battle of Saxa Rubra turned the scale in the combat between Christianity and paganism.

Maxentius attached himself to the ancient religion, though he was no persecutor,[1] and, though he was hated by the men whose family happiness had been destroyed through his immoral conduct, he seems to have been popular with a large section of the Romans; he cared for the monuments of the city and founded new ones. An oracle had declared that he could not leave Rome without peril, so that at first he left the war to his lieutenants, who had the advantage. On 27th of October 312, Constantine encamped at the Pons Milvius, says the contemporary Lactantius. Warned in a dream to trace on the shields of his soldiers the celestial sign of God before the combat, he obeyed and marked them with a [2] The troops, fortified by this divine armour, took their arms. The enemy army, deprived of its emperor, passed the bridge; there was an encounter where both sides showed equal vigour, and no one fled. The population of Rome became restive; they reproached Maxentius with betraying the public cause, and suddenly a rumour arose that Constantine was invincible. Horrified, Maxentius called together some of the Senators. They consulted the oracles and heard that on that day the enemy of the Roman people would perish.

Maxentius, now hopeful of victory, arrived at the place of combat and cut the bridge. The engagement was renewed, but God watched over the army of Constantine. Maxentius became afraid, ran to the bridge which he had broken and fell into the Tiber. "All that I have recounted is worthy of belief. I have related things as they have come to pass, so as to con-

[1] The Popes Marcellus and Eusebius were sent into exile, not as Christians, but as responsible for continued disorders.

[2] On the Labarum see below.

serve the memory of these events, that a future historian may not corrupt the truth. . ."[1]

Eusebius, also, of course, a contemporary, says that Maxentius went "a long way outside the gates"; that to cross the river he made "a strong bridge of boats," which he proposed to break if his enemies tried to use it, but "the machine erected on the bridge with the ambuscade concealed therein, giving way unexpectedly before the appointed time, the bridge began to sink . . . and first the wretch himself . . . sank as lead in the mighty waters."[2]

It will be remarked that Lactantius puts the battle at the Pons Milvius roughly one and a half miles from the walls; but Eusebius says that Maxentius went a long way outside the gates and that he made a bridge of boats by which to cross the Tiber, which would have been unnecessary if a stone bridge already existed. Saxa Rubra is about nine miles from the city, which would answer better to "a long way" than the one and a half miles of the Pons Milvius.

The actual site of the battle has been much disputed. Von Moltke says that Maxentius "advanced towards Saxa Rubra, nine miles from Rome. This positive indication given by Aurelius Victor is important."[3] This place was the second post station from Rome on the Flaminian way, and may probably be placed where is now Prima Porta.

"Now in the valley, no drawing up was possible. That Maxentius went on over the 'Red stones' does not chime in with the information of 'scarcely nine miles,' but it does with the panegyrist who relates that the Emperor drew up his army 'in a wide plain.' Still more to the point, in that case his battlefield would have been cut by the valleys of the Celsa and its tributary streams. We may therefore on this account assume with justice that Maxentius halted this side of Saxa Rubra and drew up his battle line on the free and open slopes between the Celsa and the Valca. In this position he had the first-named brook on his front. His right wing leant on the high rocky declivity sloping to the Tiber. His left flank was covered by the deep cut valley of the upper Valca. If it were an inconvenience having this stream at his back, on the other hand, there was nothing to hinder movement within the position while the attacking ground for the enemy would have been cut up and, at least for cavalry, difficult.

[1] Lactantius *Mort. Persecut.*, XLIV and LII.

[2] Eus. *Life Con.*, I, xxxviii.

[3] "Maxentius . . . tandem urbe in Saxa Rubra millia ferme novem aegerrime progressus." Aur. Vic. Caes., 40. The distance is probably reckoned from the Capitoline hill.

" In such an arrangement we should not perceive the illusion of a mad or desperate man who hems in his army between his enemy's battle array and an impracticable line of retreat, and who without hope of victory, yet makes flight impossible. The position was quite otherwise. Constantine's panegyrists themselves say that Maxentius' army would have had a front that could not be commanded, if the lines had not been drawn thin and weak on this account. Between the Pons Milvius and the battlefield Maxentius had built a bridge of boats. Whether, as Eusebius has it, it was put together with very little science, so that Constantine would sink in the moment of crossing, is a matter we may disregard. But the assertion of the panegyrist that there was no possible line of retreat is wholly unfounded. He was in no way tied to the above mentioned bridges, since the straight way led along the right bank of the Tiber to Rome itself, where, two german miles distant from the battlefield, six bridges led over the stream into the city.

" With reference to the course of the battle itself, we have unfortunately no information.

" Although after the lost battle the line of retreat to Rome along the right bank of the Tiber was still open to Maxentius, it seems as though he must have sought to extricate himself with his personal following, since he suddenly turned to the left, to cross either by one of the bridges he himself had built or by the Milvian. According to the Panegyrist,[1] one would think that he swam the Tiber and that his horse slid back on the far side, here everywhere six to eight feet high and with a steep, loamy bank. According to another version, the emperor was pushed off of the bridge among the fleeing multitude. His armour prevented him from working himself up out of the slime of the Tiber ; so he was found the following morning, and his head exhibited to the populace, who up till then had not dared to give their rejoicing free rein. " Raphael's brush has immortalized the memorable event in the Sala di Constantino in the Vatican ; but it teaches us art alone, not history. The picture may perhaps have contributed to the assumption that the fight took place at the Milvian bridge, whereas the real battlefield was a german mile distant."[2] Seeck holds a different opinion.[3] He says that " at Saxa Rubra (now Prima Porta) where the Flaminian road emerges from a narrow pass between the river and steep rocks, Constantine found his way stopped by the enemy. Neither he nor Maxentius could move forward.

[1] VIII, 13.

[2] *Wanderbuch*, pp. 115-122.

[3] The following is quoted from Bury's Ed. of Gib., I, 455, note 78. Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, I, pp. 131-134.

Constantine, leaving a force large enough to hold the pass and hinder his foe from advancing, moved with his main body westward across the intervening hill to the Via Cassia (which joins the Via Flaminia at the Milvian bridge). Screened by the hill he advanced to the bridge and fell on the rear of the army of Maxentius, for whom no course was left but to change front and turn his long column into line, his rear becoming his left wing. The battle was decided here, as the nature of the ground prevented the right wing from coming into action."

But surely it is very unlikely that Maxentius should have kept his large forces in column ; and if he took up a wide front the only place where he could have done so (before reaching Saxa Rubra), would be where Von Moltke places the site of the battle—unless he fought much nearer the city, and that idea is excluded by the nine miles limit.

APPENDIX V

THE COUNCIL OF NICAEA

A.D. 325

THE following account[1] probably refers to the last day on which the Council assembled.[2] "Now, when the appointed day arrived on which the Council met for the final solution of the question in dispute, each member was present for this in the central building of the palace. . . On each side of the interior of this were many seats disposed in order, which were occupied by those who had been invited to attend, according to their rank. As soon, then, as the whole assembly had seated themselves with becoming orderliness a general silence prevailed, in expectation of the emperor's arrival. And first of all, three of his immediate family entered in succession, then others also preceded his approach, not of the soldiers or guard who usually accompanied him, but only friends in the faith. And now, all rising at the signal which indicated the emperor's entrance, at last he himself proceeded through the midst of the assembly, like some heavenly messenger of God, clothed with raiment which glittered as it were with rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendour of gold and precious stones. Such was the external appearance of his person; and with regard to his mind, it was evident that he was distinguished by piety and godly fear. This was indicated by downcast eyes, the blush of his countenance, and his gait. For the rest of his personal excellencies, he surpassed all present in height of stature and beauty of form, as well as in majestic dignity of mien, and invincible strength and vigour.[3] All these graces, united to a suavity of manner, and a serenity becoming his imperial station, declared the

[1] Euseb. *Life Con.* III, x-xiii.

[2] The exact dates of the Council are disputed, but it seems most likely that it began June 14th, 325, and ended August 25th.

[3] "He so far surpassed his compeers in personal strength as to be a terror to them." Euse. *Life Con.* I, ch. XIX. There is a great deal of testimony showing that he was an extraordinarily powerful man.

excellence of his mental qualities to be beyond all praise. As soon as he had advanced to the upper end of the seats, at first he remained standing, and when a low chair of wrought gold had been set for him, he waited until the bishops had beckoned to him and then sat down, and after him the whole assembly did the same.

"The bishop[1] who occupied the chief place in the right division of the assembly then rose, and, addressing the emperor, delivered a concise speech in a strain of thanksgiving to Almighty God on his behalf. When he had resumed his seat, silence ensued, and all regarded the emperor with fixed attention; on which he looked serenely round on the assembly with a cheerful aspect, and having collected his thoughts, in a calm and gentle tone gave utterance to the following words: 'It was once my chief desire, dearest friends, to enjoy the spectacle of your united presence; and now that this desire is fulfilled, I feel myself bound to render thanks to God the universal King, because, in addition to all His other benefits, He has granted me a blessing higher than all the rest, in permitting me to see you not only all assembled together, but all united in a common harmony of sentiment. I pray therefore that no malignant adversary may henceforth interfere to mar our happy state . . . for, in my judgment, intestine strife within the Church of God is far more evil and dangerous than any kind of war or conflict. . . . Accordingly, when, by the will and with the co-operation of God, I have been victorious over my enemies, I thought that nothing more remained but to render thanks to Him, and sympathise in the joy of those He had restored to freedom through my instrumentality; as soon as I heard that intelligence, which I had least expected to receive, I mean the news of your dissension, I judged it to be of no secondary importance, but with the earnest desire that a remedy for this evil also might be found through my means, I immediately sent to require your presence. . . . I feel that my desires will be most completely fulfilled when I can see you all united in one judgment, and that common spirit of peace and concord prevailing amongst you, all, which it becomes you, as consecrated to the service of God to commend to others. Delay not, then, dear friends: . . . begin from this moment to discard the causes of that disunion which has existed among you and remove the perplexities of controversy by embracing the principles of peace. For by such conduct you will at the same time be acting in a manner most pleasing to the supreme God, and you will confer an exceeding favour on me who am your fellow-servant.'

"As soon as the emperor had spoken these words in the

[1] There seems little doubt that this was Eusebius himself.

Latin tongue, which another interpreted, he gave permission to those who presided in the Council to deliver their opinions. On this some began to accuse their neighbours, who defended themselves, and recriminated in their turn. In this manner numberless assertions were put forth by each party, and a violent controversy arose at the very commencement. Notwithstanding this, the emperor gave patient audience to all alike, and received every proposition with steadfast attention, and by occasionally assisting the argument of each party in turn, he gradually disposed even the most vehement disputants to a reconciliation. At the same time, by the affability of his address to all, and his use of the Greek language with which he was not altogether unacquainted, he appeared in a truly attractive and amiable light, persuading some, convincing others by his reasonings, praising those who spoke well, and urging all to the unity of sentiment, until at last he succeeded in bringing them to one mind and judgment respecting every disputed question."[1]

Many of the clerics present " had lived through terrible persecutions and bore the marks of their sufferings " and " both at that time and afterwards it was in this character as an army of confessors and martyrs, quite as much as on their character as an æcumenical council, that their authority reposed. In this respect no other council could approach them."

[1]Eusebius of Cæsarea only signed the Nicene Creed after much hesitation, and a few bishops refused to sign at all.

APPENDIX VI

ATTILA

A.D. 448

In 448 the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II sent as an ambassador to Attila one of his generals Maximin, who was accompanied by Priscus the Sophist, his intimate friend. Priscus, happily for us, kept a diary in which the details are so minute as to give the idea that they were jotted down almost from hour to hour. They had considerable difficulty in obtaining an interview with the Hunnish king, but this finally took place at some spot within two days' march of the Danube.

" When we obtained admittance," says Priscus, " we found the monarch seated on a wooden stool. We stood a little way off from the throne, but Maximin went forward, and after making obeisance to the barbarian, and handing him the emperor's letter, said, ' Our sovereign prays for the safety of thyself and all around thee.' Attila answered, 'May the Romans receive exactly what they desire for me.' The ambassadors were ordered to repair to his palace in the interior and there await his written reply to the emperor." They travelled into the recesses of Hungary, first in Attila's train, then by a separate route, and met with kindness on the way. At a certain village they stumbled unexpectedly on an embassy from Valentinian III ; and here the representatives from East and West, " the functionaries who between them could set forth the whole majesty that might still survive in the title Senatus Populusque Romanus," had to wait for the barbarian king to give them permission to follow him. The palace was only a log-hut of large dimensions, the top being fashioned with the appearance of battlements. The envoys were invited to dine with Attila. " Punctually at three o'clock," says Priscus, " we, together with the ambassadors of the Western Romans, went to the dinner and stood on the threshold of Attila's palace. According to the custom of the country, the cup-bearers brought us a bowl of wine, that we might drink and pray for the good luck of

our host before sitting down. Having tasted the bowl, we were escorted to our seats. Chairs were ranged for the guests all round the walls. In the centre Attila reclined on a couch and behind him a flight of steps led up to his bed." The ambassadors were not given the seats of highest honour. "When we were all seated," continues Priscus, "the cup-bearer came in and handed to Attila his ivy-wood drinking cup filled with wine. Remaining seated, the king saluted the one nearest him in rank. The slave standing behind that person's chair advanced into the middle of the hall, received the cup from the hand of Attila's cup-bearer and brought it to the guest, whom etiquette required to rise from his seat and continue standing till he had drained the cup and the slave had returned it into the hands of Attila's cup-bearer." This ceremony was gone through with each guest, in the intervals of each course. After everyone had been saluted, the servants began to bring in the provisions, which were set upon little tables, one for every three or four guests, so that each could help himself without going outside the row of chairs. "For all the rest of the barbarians and for us a costly banquet had been prepared, which was served in silver dishes; but Attila, on his wooden plate had nothing else save meat. In all his other equipments he showed the same simple tastes. The other banqueters had drinking cups of gold and silver handed to them, but his was of wood. His clothes were quite plain, distinguished by their cleanness only from those of any-common man; and neither the sword which was hung up beside him, nor the clasps of his shoes (shaped in the barbarian fashion) nor the bridle of his horse was adorned, as is the case with other Scythians, with gold or jewels or anything else that is costly." After dinner there were songs. The ambassadors of the East were given presents which Priscus acknowledges were suitable, and were dismissed with a letter; strange to say we hear nothing of the success or failure of the Western embassy.[1]

[1]Priscus, quoted in Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Bk. II. Ch.II.

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Printed in Great Britain by the Stanhope Press Limited, Rochester